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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXIX

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OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

Part I of this volume contains three papyri (**4705–7**) of *Hermas*, all dating from the second and third centuries AD: one roll, one recycled roll, one codex. These offer a number of good new readings; and more generally contribute to the arguments about the date and compositional history of the work (**4706** apparently contained *Visiones* III–IV as well as *Mandata*).

Part II offers fragments of otherwise unknown Greek poetry. **4708** contains a substantial piece of Archilochus' *Elegies*, which tells the early history of Telephus, an extended exemplum rather than an independent mythological narrative; the new text represents a major advance in our knowledge of the genre. **4709–10** are scraps of verse, the first of lyric (Stesichorus?), the second with musical notation. **4711** preserves elegiacs partly at least concerned with metamorphoses (possibly Parthenius?). **4712–14** come from hexameter poems: **4712** certainly from an *Argonautica*, perhaps Hellenistic, perhaps later; **4714** with narratives about Lapiths and Centaurs, Cassiopeia and Andromeda, probably of imperial date.

Part III collects papyri of known prose-works. **4715–16** provide rare examples of Lysias being read at Oxyrhynchus: **4715** the end title of the lost *Περὶ τῶν ἀνακαλυπτηρίων* (considered spurious by some ancient critics); **4716** three columns from the transmitted *Or.* XXI. **4717–37** represent one of the most-read orators, Isocrates: these papyri of *Ad Nicoclem*, *Nicoles*, and *De Pace* offer a scatter of new readings (mostly variations of word-order) and in general confirm the modern view of the textual tradition, that the systematic divergence between the Urbina and the 'vulgate' postdates the Roman period. **4738** (the back of LXVIII **4666**) is the first published papyrus of one of Lucian's authentic works (*Dialogi deorum*).

Part IV includes documents of the Roman period that illustrate the bases of agriculture and transport (land-leases, **4739**, **4747**, **4753**; sales of donkeys, **4746**, **4748**, **4749?**, **4750**, **4751**, **4752?**); a group of customs receipts shows Oxyrhynchites doing business in the Fayum, where one imports donkeys and camels via Dionysias (**4740**), another exports reeds via Tebtunis (**4741–4**). From the sixth century come papers referring to the aristocratic landowners who give the period a (deceptively) feudal look: Flavia Maria (**4754**), Flavius Ioannes (**4755**), Flavia Anastasia (**4756–8**).

The contributions of Dr Colomo and Dr Nodar originally formed part of their doctoral theses written at Oxford University; they have been revised for publication by the General Editors. The contributions of Dr Litinas and the late Dr Montserrat originally formed part of their doctoral theses written at University College London; they have been revised for publication by Dr R. A. Coles and Professor J. D. Thomas.

The literary indexes were compiled by the individual editors (**4708**, **4711**, **4714**) and by Dr C. Meliadò; Ms P. Strataki and Dr Gonis prepared the documentary indexes.

We are grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for typesetting the volume with great skill and patience; and to The Charlesworth Group for their dispatch in the printing and binding. As in past years, we are indebted to the Arts and Humanities Research Board and The British Academy for their support of the project.

April 2005

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DC = D. Colomo

NG = N. Gonis

CL = C. Luz

DM = D. Montserrat

JDT = J. D. Thomas

MC = M. Cottier

WBH = W. B. Henry

NL = N. Litinas

AN = A. Nodar

JY = J. Yuan

GBDA = G.B. D'Alessio

MH = M. Hombert

GM = G. Massimilla

DO = D. Obbink

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ᾠ, <i>ετρ</i> (ατηγός) represents the abbreviation <i>ετρς</i>
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
˘αβγ˘	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. no. 9, ⁵2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

4705–4707. HERMAS, *PASTOR*

Published below are fragments of three papyrus manuscripts of the *Pastor* of Hermas, an early Christian ‘extracanonical’ work, well attested among papyri; for an annotated catalogue, see K. Aland (†), H.-U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri, II/1: Kirchenväter-Papyri* (Berlin–New York 1995) 232–311 (KV 29–43; the four parchment fragments are not included). The new items bring the total number of published papyri of Hermas to twenty-three (twenty-five with I 5 = KV 59 and P. Mich. inv. 6427, which contain quotations); two of them (P. Bodmer XXXVIII and P. Mich. 129) are very extensive. As expected, the bulk are codices; only two come from rolls (P. Berol. 5513, P. Mich. 130), to which **4705** (written on the back of a roll; cf. P. Mich. 130) and **4706** are now to be added.

The three new papyri are of considerable interest: they are early in date; offer a number of good readings not found elsewhere (but also others that are plainly wrong); and two of them (**4705–6**) transmit portions of the *Visiones*, not well represented in papyri (otherwise only in P. Amh. II 190, P. Bodmer XXXVIII, and P. Berl. Sarisch. 9; P. Harr. I 128, which contains parts of *Vis.* V, need not come from a codex that contained *Vis.* I–IV).

On the text of *Pastor* and the papyri, see A. Carlini, ‘La tradizione testuale del Pastore di Erma e i nuovi papiri’, in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Le strade del testo* (Bari 1987) 23–43; id., *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII: Erma: Il pastore (I^a–III^a visione)* (Cologny–Genève 1991) 15 ff.; Aland & Rosenbaum, *Repertorium* pp. lxxxv–xcvii. There is a steady flow of new textual witnesses: see M. Bandini, G. Lusini, ‘Nuove acquisizioni intorno alla tradizione testuale del Pastore di Erma in greco e in etiopico’, *SCO* 46 (1997) 625–35; G. Lusini, ‘Nouvelles recherches sur le texte du “Pasteur” d’Hermas’, *Apocrypha* 12 (2001) 79–97.

As a basis for collation I have used the editions of M. Whittaker, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (*GCS* 48: Berlin 1967²), and (U. H. J. Körtner,) M. Leutzsch, (*Papiasfragmente.*) *Hirt des Hermas* (Darmstadt 1998). The sigla used are the following: A = Codex Athous; B = P. Bodmer XXXVIII; F^a = Lavra K 96 (ed. M. Bandini, *RHT* 30 (2000) 109–22); M = P. Mich. 129; S = Codex Sinaiticus; C¹ = the Achmimic Coptic translation; L¹ = the old Latin version (*vulgata*); L² = the Latin Palatine version; E = the Ethiopic version. (Readings from the indirect tradition and the translations are cited rather selectively.)

N. GONIS

4705. HERMAS, *VISIO* I 1.8–9

102/168(b)

8 × 8 cm

Third century
Plate I

A fragment of a roll, broken on all sides, written across the fibres on the back of an

unidentified literary text; the latter may be assigned to the early second century. The hand responsible for the text of Hermas is an informal round one, which I would place in the earlier part of the third century. It belongs to the same paleographic environment as III 412 = *GLH* 23a (Iulius Africanus, *Kestoi*), of the mid-third century; compare also *GMAW*² 63 (the Bodmer St John), assigned to the first half of the third century. It is generally bilinear; only ι and ρ descend slightly below the notional baseline. α is usually formed in a looped sequence, but occasionally is wedge-shaped; ε has long mid-stroke sometimes detached from the back; the stem and upper arm of κ are made in a single movement.

Θεός is abbreviated in the usual way. There is punctuation in the form of a middle point written in a blank (more than one-letter) space left for it (4, 5, 7, 9), but once we find a high point within the normal spacing of letters (8; it is unclear whether this is by the first hand). These may have served as pointers for reading aloud (cf. also P. Mich. 130). Elision is signalled in the only case that can be verified. A correction in 3, making good a phonetic spelling, is probably not due to the copyist (the cancelling stroke is in a different ink).

The text overlaps with S, B, and A. Too little has survived to allow a reliable judgement on the relation of 4705 with the other witnesses, though we may note that, when the tradition is split, 4705 mostly, but not always, sides with S. There is one new reading (9), while in another case the papyrus illustrates the complexities of the tradition (7).

.

] . αυ[των] θανατον και α[ιχμα] (1.8)

λωτις]μον [επ]ισπωνται μα[λι
στα οι] τον [[ε]αιω[ν]α τουτον πε[ρι]ποι
ουμε]νοι · κα[ι γ]αυριωντες εν [τω
5 πλο]υτω αυτων · και μη αυ[τε
χομ]ενοι των αγαθων των [μελ
λον]των · [μετ]αμεληουσιν [αι 1.9
ψυχ]αι αυτ[ω]ν· οιτινες ουκ ε[χου
σιν] ελπιδα · αλλ' αυτους απε[γνω
10 κασι]ν και την ζωην αυτων [αλ
λα σ]ν προσευχου προς τον θ[ε]ν [και
ιασετ]α[ι] τα αμαρτηματα σου [

.

1 At the start of the line, perhaps καρδιαις, with SA (ταίς καρδίαις om. B).

6–7 των αγαθων των [μελλον]των with SB: τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν A.

7 μετ]αμεληουσιν: μετ[α]μελησονται B; μετανοήουσιν S (*et debent poenitere* E); πολλά μεταμελήουσιν A: *vagan-*
tur L¹; *non resistit hisdem luxuriis* L². μεταμελήουσιν is wrong in terms of grammar: neither NT nor documentary
papyri provide any evidence for the use of the active forms of this verb with personal subject. 4705 now shows
that the corruption is ancient. Carlini has argued that B preserves the original reading; see his 'METANOËIN

e *METAMEΛΕCΘAI* nelle Visioni di Erma', *Miscel·lania Papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelona 1987) 97–102, and the commentary to P. Bodm. If this holds, S's *μετανοήσουσιν* could be a correction of *μεταμελήσουσιν*. It should be noted, however, that *μεταμελέσθαι* is not attested elsewhere in Hermas, while *μετανοεῖν* occurs frequently.

9 ἀλλ' with B: ἀλλα SA.

αυτους: εαυτους SBA. The uncontracted form is common in Hermas. For a similar case of disagreement between the MSS, cf. 22. 9 (εαυτο S^c: αυτο S: εαυτόν A).

12 τα αμαρτηματα σου with S: σου τα άμαρτήματα A: τας αμ]αρτιας ς[ου B.

N. GONIS

4706. HERMAS, *VISIONES* III 4.3, 6.6, 9.7, 13.4–IV 1.1, 7–9;

MANDATA II 4–5, IV 1.1.7–9, 3.6, 4.3–4, V 1.6–7, VI 1.3–5, VII 5, VIII 6, IX 7–8, X 1.1

106/47(a)

fr. 13 5.1 × 10.2 cm

Second/third century

Twenty-seven fragments of a roll, blank on the back; ten of them have not been placed. A crude kollesis is visible in fr. 5. The lower margin measures 2.8 cm (fr. 1, 16); the upper margin is extant to 0.6 cm (?fr. 12); the intercolumnium is c.1 cm wide (fr. 20). The dimensions of the original roll and of the column of writing (we know only that each line contained 22–6 letters) cannot be reconstructed.

The hand is informal with cursive tendencies, of the kind that C. H. Roberts described as 'reformed documentary' (*Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 14). I would assign it to the earlier part of the third century, though I would not exclude a date in the very end of the second. There is some similarity to XXXI **2611** of 192/3, and VIII **1100** = *GLH* 20b, of 206; cf. also L **3532** = *GMAW*² 86, assigned to the later second century. Letter forms of note: narrowly pointed α; the apexes of α, Δ, λ are leftward-facing hooks; z has a curved base; the stem of τ joins the crossbar at one-third length; ξ, ρ, φ, and ι when ligatured to ε, reach well below the line.

Θεός and κύριος are not contracted; this is also the case in P. Mich. 130, another Hermas fragment. The only lectional sign in evidence is a diaeresis over initial upsilon (fr. 3.4). There is no opportunity to observe how elision was treated. Titles are preserved for *Vis.* IV (fr. 5.13) and *Mand.* VIII (fr. 14.6). There are three itacistic mistakes (fr. 1.3; 3.4; 13.2), and a morphological aberration of common type (fr. 5.1). There is one correction, probably by the original scribe (fr. 13.10).

The original roll must have contained the *Visiones* as well as the *Mandata* (it is less likely that we have fragments of two different rolls). Compare the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which contained all three parts of the *Pastor*. This is of some interest, since it has repeatedly been argued that *Mandata* and *Similitudines* circulated independently of *Visiones* I–IV (*Vis.* V serving as an introduction to *Mand.* and *Sim.*); contrast, however, Aland and Rosenbaum, *Repertorium* pp. lxxxvii–xciv, especially the codicological part of their argument.

The papyrus is of more than average textual interest. Fr. 1–4 + 5 (part) transmit sections of the text also extant in S, B, and A; the papyrus tallies three times with SB against A

(fr. 1.4, 11; 3.2), once with SA against B (fr. 3.1), and once with BA against S (fr. 1.8), while it offers one new reading (fr. 1.9). Fr. 4+5 (part)–9 overlap with S and A; they present (at least) four instances of agreement with S against A (fr. 4+5.8, 11, 14; 6.5), one case of agreement with A against S (fr. 6.3), two cases of different word-order (fr. 5.12; 7.1–2), one omission (fr. 8.4), and one new reading (fr. 4+5.11). Fr. 10–17 carry parts of the text otherwise preserved only in A (and the indirect tradition). They offer some eight textual novelties (fr. 10.4; 11.4, 5–6; 13.2–3, 11, 13; 15.2, 7), most of which seem to be superior to the readings offered by A and the translations. We may also note the small overlaps with P. Amh. II 190 (fr. 4+5) and C¹ (fr. 10–11).

In some of the smaller fragments line-divisions are largely *exempli gratia*.

Fr. 1

.

παντων αξιωτερος] ει ινα (12.3) (Vis. III 4)
 κοι αποκαλυφθη αλλ]λοι γαρ
 σου προτεροι εις και β]ελτει
 ονες σου ος εδει απο]καλυ
 5 φθηναι τα οραματα τ]αυτα
 αλλα ινα δοξασθη τ]ο ονο
 μα του θεου κοι απεκ]αλυφθ[η
 και ετι αποκαλυφθη]ζεται
 δια τους δια]λο
 10 γιζομενους εν ταις] καρδι
 αις αυτων ει ιρα εστι]ν ταυ
 foot

2 αλλ]λοι restored with SAL¹L²: πολλοί E: [B].

3–4 β]ελτει[ονες, l. βελτίονες. The same itacism in B.

4 σου restored with SBL¹L² by reason of space: om. AE.

7 κοι restored with AL¹L²E; ω B. S omits κοι απεκαλύφθη; its corrector (S^c) restored only the verb (without κοι).

8 ετι restored with BAE by reason of space: om. SL¹L².

9–10 δια]λο[γιζομενους: τους διαλογιζομενους SBA. Spacing suggests that the papyrus did not have τους, itself not strictly necessary. Cf. also fr. 4+5, 8–9 n.

11 εστι]ν with S^c (om. S) BL¹L²E Clem. Al. : ε̅σται A.

Fr. 2

.

ε]ζον[ται τω θεω ωσπερ γαρ (14.6) (Vis. III 6)
 ο] λιθο[ς ο στρογγυλος εαν μη
 π]ερι[κοπη και αποβαλη

εξ] αυτ[ου τι ου δυναται τετρα
 5 γ]ωνο[ς γενεσθαι ουτω και οι πλου
 τ]ουν[τες εν τουτω τω αιωνι ε
 α]ν μ[η περικοπη αυτων ο

1 γαρ restored with S^cBAL¹ by reason of space: om. SL²E.

3 The line looks short as restored. Perhaps τι was written after αποβαλη, and not in 4.

5 The line seems long as restored. Could it be that και was omitted?

Fr. 3

.
 τον κ]υριον [και εκκλεισθη (17.6) (Vis. III 9)
 cesθε] μετ[α των αγαθων υ
 μων εξ]ω της [θυρας του πυργου 17.7
 νυν ου]ν υμε[ιν λεγω τοις προ
 5 ηγουμ]ενο[ις της εκκλησιας
 και τοις] πρ[ωτοκαθεδριταις

1 κ]υριον with SAL¹L²: θν B. For a discussion of the readings, see P. Bodm. XXVIII p. 89 (n. l. 4).

2 των αγαθων restored with SB by reason of space: τών ἀδελφών ἀγαθών A: cum bonis vestris L¹: cum omnibus divitiis L²: cum divitiis vestris E.

4 υμε[ιν. The traces on the edge suit a left-hand curve (ε) rather than an upright (ι).

Frr. 4 + 5

.
 ρα η θεεις οτι τεσσα]ρες [πο (21.3) (Vis. III 13)
 δας εχει το κυμπελι]ον [και
 ισχυρως εστηκε]ν και γα[ρ ο
 κοσμος δια τεσσ]αρων [στοι
 5 χειων κρατειται] οι ουν [με
 τα]νοησαντ[ες ολο]τελ[ως νε
 21.4
 οι] εσονται [και τε]θεμ[ελιω
 μ]ενοι εξ ο[λης της κ]αρδ[ιας
 με]τανησαν[τες α]πεχε[ις
 10 ολο]τελ[η την αποκ]αλυψι[ν

μηκ]ετι [μηδεν αιτη]χη εαν [
τι δε δεη κοι αποκ]αλυφθη[σεται

ορασις τετ]αρτη

ην ειδον αδελφοι] μετα [
ημερας εικοσι της] προτε[

22.1

Vis. IV 1

15 ημερας εικοσι της] προτε[

1 τεσσα]ρες, 1. τέσσαρας. The same spelling in S. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 191–2.

1–2 ποδας εχει restored *exempli gratia* with SBA (L¹): εχ[ει ποδας P. Amh. (L²).

4–5 στοιχειων κρατειται restored *exempli gratia* with S(B)A: κρα]τειτ[αι] στοιχειων P. Amh.

8–9 εξ ο[λης της κ]αρδ[ιας με]τ[αν]οησαν[τες with S: οί εξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μετανοήσαντες AL¹E: [P. Amh.].

The article is not necessary. Cf. fr. 1. 9–10 n. (Contrary to editors' reports, L² does not side with S but offers something different: *et fundati in toto corde poenitentiam agent.*)

11 αιτη]χη: αιτήσεως S^c: αιτήσεως A. (The same textual variation in *Mand.* VIII 6.)

After αιτήσεως, AL¹E add περι ἀποκαλύψεως, apparently an interpolation (not present in SL²).

12 τι δε restored *exempli gratia* with S: δέ τι A.

κοι αποκ]αλυφθη[σεται: ἀποκαλυφθήσεταιί κοι SA. The word order of the papyrus as restored is conjectural, based on considerations of space. But this still leaves us with another difficulty; if my reconstruction is right, there would be too little space at the end of the line for [σεται; and yet there does not seem to be space for a further line between 12 and 13 (even if the interlinear space is larger than the usual).

14 ην ειδον restored with S by reason of space: ὄρασιν ἣν εἶδον A (*visio quam* L²E: *visionem quam* L¹; but neither reading need go back to a Greek original such as A). The tradition displays a similar split at the start of *Vis.* III.

Fr. 6

χεν ωσει κεραμου και] ηρ[ξα

22.7

(Vis. IV 1)

μην κλαιειν και ερωτ]αν τ[ον

κυριον ινα με λυτρω]σητα[ι

εξ αυτου και επανεμν]ησθη[ν

5 του ρηματος ου ακηκοει]ν μ[η

διψυχεις Ερμα ενδυ]σαμ[ε

22.8

νος ουν αδελφοι την] πιςτ[ι]ν

2 κλαιειν with S^cAL¹L²E: κλῖναι τὰ γόνατα S.

3 λυτρω]σητα[ι with A: λυτρώσεται S.

4 επανεμν]ησθη[ν restored *exempli gratia* with S: ὑπανεμνήσθην A.

5 ακηκοει]ν with S: ἀκήκοα A.

6 διψυχεις restored *exempli gratia* with S: διψυχήςης A.

Fr. 7

· · · · ·
 τον ε]δω[κα ουτω δε το θηρι (22.8) (Vis. IV 1)
 ον] ηρχ[ετο ροιζω ωστε δυνα
 ς]θαι α[υτο πολιν λυμαναι
 ερ]χομα[ι εγγυς αυτου και το 22.9
 5 τη]λικουτ[ο κητος - - -
]. [

Three lines appear to have been lost between fr. 6 and 7 ([του κυριου και μνησθεις ων ε]διδαξεν με μεγαλειων θαρση]σας εις το θηριον εμην], if the papyrus had the same text as S).

1 ε]δω[κα restored, largely *exempli gratia*, with S: δέδωκα A.

1-2 ουτω δε το θηριον] ηρχ[ετο. MSS transmit οὕτω δὲ ἤρχετο τὸ θηρίον; if the identification of the fragment is correct, the papyrus had a different word-order.

5 τη]λικουτ[ο κητος restored *exempli gratia* with S: τηλικούτον κτήνος A.

After κητος, S has εκνι (intended for ἐκίνει?), while A gives ἐκτείνει .

Fr. 8

· · · · ·
 ο θε]ος [διδωσιν σοι πασιν υστε (27.4) (Mand. II)
 ρου]μ[ενοις διδου απλωσ μη
 διςτ]αζ[ων τινι δωσ η τινι
 μη δ]ωσ [πασιν γαρ ο θεος διδο
 5 ςθα]ι θε[λει απο των ιδιων
 δωρ]ημα[των οι ουν λαμβα 27.5
 νοντ]εσ α[ποδωσουσιν - -

4 After μη δ]ωσ, the papyrus apparently did not continue πασιν διδου, transmitted by SA. This could be an omission due to *homoiarchon*. One may also consider whether πάσιν δίδου is interpolated: this phrase is not really necessary after the exhortation πάσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς; but in a text where repetition is rife such considerations may simply be too logical.

5 απο restored *exempli gratia* with S: ἐκ A Ant.

Fr. 9

· · · · ·
]. [(29.1) (Mand. IV 1)
 μη αν]αβαι[νετω σου επι την
 καρ]διαν [περι γυναικος
 αλ]λοτρια[ς η περι πορνειας

5 τιν]ος η π[ερι τοιουτων
 τιν]ων ομ[οιωματων πονη
 ρω]υ του[το γαρ ποιων

4 *πορνειας* restored *exempli gratia* with S^c Ath. L¹L²E: *πονηρίας* SA (influenced from *πονηρών*?).

Fr. 10

.
 εαν τις εκπειρασθεις υπο] του (31.6) (Mand. IV 3)
 διαβολου αμαρτησης μιαν] μετα
 νοιαν εχει εαν δε υπο χ]ειρα α
 μαρτανη και c.2 μετα]υση α
 5 κυμφορον εστι τω αν]θρω
 πω τω τοιουτω δυσκ]ο

4 *και c.2 μετα]υση*: *καὶ οὐ μετανοήσῃ* A: *καὶ μετανοήσῃ* L¹L²C¹E, adopted by editors. (There is a slight variation in the Latin translations: *si autem subinde peccat et poenitentiam agit* L¹; *si frequenter poenitentiam actorum suorum agit* L².) οὐ in A seems to stem from an attempt to make sense of a somewhat difficult passage. The space of two letters that I have posited between *και* and *μετα]υση* could be filled by a negative particle. But even if the papyrus had *μή* (rather than *οὐ*), I doubt it goes back to the author; it could have been an influence from *Mand. IV. 1. 9* *ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ τις καὶ μὴ μετανοῆ* (so S; *ἐπιμείνῃ . . . μετανοήσῃ* A). As for *μετα]υση*, it may be considered superior to *μετανοήσῃ* of A, since it agrees with the verbal aspect of the preceding *ἀμαρτάνῃ* (*ὑπὸ χεῖρα* refers to a repeated action).

6 *τω τοιουτω* restored *exempli gratia* with (L¹)L²C¹(E): *τὸ τοιοῦτον* A.

Fr. 11

.
 τω θεω ταυτα σοι ος]α λαλω [32.3 (Mand. IV 4)
 η και μελλω λαλειν φ]υλλας[
 σε απο του νυν αφ ης] μοι παρ[ε
 δοθης και εις τον οικον] σου κα[
 5 τοικησω των δε προτερω]ν σου [
 παραπτωματων αφεσι]ς εσται [
] . . .

2 η restored with A: om. L¹L²E: [C¹].

4 Spacing suggests that *ἡμέρας*, which follows after *παρεδόθης* in A and looks back to *ἀφ' ἧς*, was not present in the papyrus; *ἡμέρας* is omitted in L¹L²E. *ἀφ' ἧς* without noun is regular NT usage; see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F.

Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1979) § 241 n. 3. It occurs twice in the text transmitted by A, viz. in *Sim.* VIII 1.4 and 6.6, but in both cases this may well not be the original reading.

4-5 κα[τοικησω restored with AL²E by reason of space: *habito* L¹.

5-6 των δε προτερων]ν σου [παραπτωμάτων: τοῖς δὲ προτέροις σου παραπτώμασιν A. The new reading may be the original: elsewhere in Hermas ἄφεσις construes with genitive of thing (*Mand.* IV 3.1, 3, 4) and dative of person (*Mand.* IV 4.4). The reading of A may be an influence from the construction with dative in the next period (καὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἄφεσις ἔσται).

7 Too little survives to confirm a match with the expected text.

Fr. 12

Top?

μιγη η ο]ξυ[χολια τη μακροθυμια (33.6) (*Mand.* V 1)
 μαινετ]αι [η μακροθυμια και ου
 κ ευχρη]στο[ς εστι τω θεω η εν
 τευξις] αυ[της ηθελον φημι 33.7
 5 κυριε] γν[ωναι την ενεργει
 αν της ο]ξυ[χολιας ινα φυλα
 ξωμαι] απ [αυτης και μην
 φησιw] εαν [μη φυλαξη απ αυ
 της συ] και [ο οικος σου απω
 10 λεσας τ]η[ν πασαν ελπιδα

The restorations are often *exempli gratia*, and have been taken from modern editions; no single witness transmits the text exactly as printed above, but I see little point in citing variants when the relevant words are entirely lost.

3 ευχρη]στο[ς εστι: ἔστιν εὐχρηστος Ant.: ἔ[τι εὐ]χρηστός ἔστι A (according to Lake): εὐχρηστος ἔσται L²E. There does not seem to be enough room to restore A's putative ἔ[τι (not accepted by editors).

5 κυριε with AL¹L²: om. E.

10 All witnesses have σου after ἀπώλεσας; if my reconstruction is correct, there does not seem to be room for σου here. It should be noted that the traces interpreted as of the η of τ]η[ν do not admit any of σ, ο, or γ.

Fr. 13

στρεβλ]η[ν εασον η] γα[ρ (35.3) (*Mand.* VI 1)
 στρεβ]λη οδος [τρ]ειβους [ου
 κ εχει] και τραχεια εστ]ι και α
 κανθ]ωδης βλαβερα [ουν
 5 εστι τ]οις εν αυτη πο[ρευο
 μενο]ις οι δε τ[η] ορθη ο[δω πο
 35.4
 ρευο]μενοι ομαλω[ς περιπα

τους]ι και απροσκο[πως
 ουτε] γαρ τραχεια εστ[ιν ουτε
 10 ακαν]θωδ[[ε]]ης βλεπε[ις 35.5
 ουν ο]τι συμφορωτ[ερον ες
 τι ταυτ]η τη οδω π[ορευες
 θαι αρες]κει φημι [κυριε ταυ
 τη τη ο]δω πορευ[εσθαι
 15 πορευση] φ[ησι] και [ος αν

1 η] χα[ρ with A: ἡ δέ L¹L²: ὅτι E.

2 τρ]ειβους, l. τρίβους.

2-3 τρ]ειβους [ουκ εχει]: add. ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά A: *non habet exitum bonum, sed offendicula multa habet* L¹; *multa offendicula habet* L². It is difficult to tell whether the shorter version of the papyrus is the original.

4 After (the Latin rendering of) ἀκανθώδης, L¹ adds *et ducit ad interitum*.

βλαβερα [ουν with A: καὶ βλαβερά L¹L²E.

5 τ]οις εν αυτη with AL²E: τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ L¹.

10-11 βλεπε[ις ουν with AL¹: *scito ergo* E: *sed* L².

11 συμφορωτ[ερον: *συμφερώτερον* A. Editors print *συμφορώτερον* by conjecture.

13 αρες]κει φημι: ἀρέσκει μοι φημί A. The dative is necessary; its omission here is inadvertent.

13-14 αρες]κει . . . πορευ[εσθαι with AL²E: om. L¹.

Fr. 14

. . . .
 ε]ν[τολας αυτου εκει (37.5) (Mand. VII 5)
 νω]ν η [ζωη εστι παρα τω
 θε]ω των δε μη φυλασσον
 τω]ν τας εν[τολας αυτου ουδε
 5 ζω]η εν αυτ[οις
] εντ[ολη ογδοη
] . . [.] . [38.1 Mand. VIII

2-3 παρα τω θε]ω restored with A Ant: παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ L¹: ἐν κυρίῳ/θεῷ E: *in perpetuum* L².

3-4 των δε μη φυλασσοντω]ν with AL¹E: τῶν δὲ φοβουμένων τὸν Θεὸν καὶ μὴ φυλασσόντων L².

4 τας εν[τολας αυτου with AL²: om. L¹E.

5 αυτ[οις restored *exempli gratia* with L¹(L²E): αὐτῷ A in error (an influence from αὐτοῦ).

6 εντ[ολη ογδοη. I have restored the ordinal on the basis of ορασις τετ]αρτη in fr. 4 + 5.14.

7 In AL¹, Mand. VIII starts εἰπόν σοι, φησίν. After the break, there is one high and one low near-horizontal trace, followed by what seems to be the top of an upright adorned with a left-facing serif. These could be the remnants of ε and ι of εἶπον, themselves enlarged, as was often the case with the initial letters of a new section (cf. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* 16-17). After that, too little is preserved to allow a match with the received text.

Fr. 15

· · · · ·
 λιαν πονηρα φημι τοις] δουλοις (38.6) (Mand. VIII)
 του θεου τουτων ουν] παντων
 δει εγκρατευεσθαι τον δ]ου
 λευοντα τω θεω εγκρα]τευ
 5 και ουν απο παντων του]των
 ινα ζηση τω θεω και εγγ]ρα
] .
 · · · · ·

1 φημι restored with A: ταῦτα L²: om. L¹E.

2 I have restored ουν, absent from A, with the Latin translations in order to fill the lacuna. Another but less likely possibility is that φημι (restored in 1) came after δουλοις.

πάντων A Ath¹: οὖν πάντων L¹L²: δὴ τῶν ἔργων Ant.

3-4 δ]ου[λευοντα τω θεω restored with AL² by reason of space: δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ath¹L¹: τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ant.

6 ζηση restored *exempli gratia* with Ath¹: ζήσης A: ζήσεις Ath².

7 The trace on the edge is probably the lower part of the tail of α or λ. A has ἐγγραφήση μετὰ τῶν ἐγκρατενομένων αὐτά; if the papyrus offered the same text, the position of the putative α cannot be explained. We may consider whether it had a different word-order from A, i.e., αὐτὰ ἐγκρατενομένων; spacing seems to suit:

ιναζησητωθεωκαιεγγ]ρα
 φησημετατωναυταεγκρ]α

Fr. 16

· · · · ·
 η παραπτ]ωμα τ[ι ο κυ αγνοεις (39.7) (Mand. IX)
 βραδυτερ]ον λα[μβανεις το αι
 τημα σου] κυ ουν [μη διαλιπης 39.8

1 τ[ι ο with A Ath² Ant: σου L¹E: σου τι L²: om. Ath¹.

Fr. 17

· · · · ·
] της διψ[υχιας και της ο (40.1) (Mand. X 1)
 ξυχο]λιας πω[ς φημι κυριε 40.2
 αδελ]φη ες[τι τουτων αλλο
 γαρ μοι] δοκε[ι ειναι οξυχολια
 5] . [

Fr. 18–27 UNPLACED

Fr. 18	Fr. 19	Fr. 20	
.	
] . νι[	] δ . [] . . [
] . αρ[	] νκ[	] α λ ε [
] κ α [	] η ν α [	] π α κ α [
] . α [	] . [	] . ω [
.	
Fr. 21	Fr. 22	Fr. 23	
. . .	. . .	Top?
] ε ν ο [	] α ς μ . [	] . ο . [
] ν τ ο [	] η ο . [	] ς μ [
] δ ι δ [	] α λ . [	] . ω . [
.	
Fr. 24	Fr. 25	Fr. 26	Fr. 27
.
] ζ . . [ζ . [] ω ν [] α ρ α κ [
] . ζ ω η [τ ο [] . π ο . [] . [
.

Fr. 18 1] . , low trace, but perhaps not ink to left as of the diagonal of ν 2] . , π or τ, less likely τ 4] . , upright with traces

Fr. 19 1] . , low trace 4] . [, φ?

Fr. 20 i 1] . , high trace 4] . , high speck ii 1] . , upright

Fr. 22 1] . , left-hand curve 2] . , lower curve 3] . , left-hand curve?

Fr. 23 1] . , upright . [, on edge, left-hand tip of high horizontal or upper extremity of α, Δ, λ 3] . , trace at two-thirds height . [, upper left corner of ν?

Fr. 24 (Apparently not *Mand. XI* 16: οδν cannot be read in 1.) 1] . , lower part of ε or c; perhaps ν, though its putative left-hand upright is oblique 2] . , short upright and thin medial horizontal projecting to right (c rather than η?)

Fr. 25 1] . , left-hand curve

Fr. 26 2] . , lower part of descending oblique such as of α or λ . [, upright

Fr. 27 2] . [, top of α, Δ, λ?

4707. HERMAS, *SIMILITUDINES* VI 3–VII 2

34 4B. 73/H(3-5)c + 103/196(a)

6 × 17.5 cm

Third century

A portion of the outer part of a page of a papyrus codex, made up of three virtually contiguous fragments. Upper margin extant to 1 cm on →; outer margin extant to 1.7 cm on ↓. On average there were about 35 letters to the line; about 800 letters, or 23 lines, are lost from the lower part of the → side. (The ↓ side is somewhat more generously spaced.) Thus there would have been about 55 lines to the page, which gives a written height of c.28.5 cm. Adding 4 cm for upper and lower margins together, we have a page c.32.5 cm high. The written width may be estimated at c.11 cm; adding 4 cm for side margins, the width of the page would be c.15 cm. Such dimensions would place this leaf among Turner's Group 6 of papyrus codices (see *The Typology of the Early Codex* 18).

The hand is a mature version of the 'Severe Style', smallish and upright, executed rather informally. A date in the third century would suit; cf. *GLH* 23a–b. It is generally bilinear; φ projects above and below the line, while some descenders may dip slightly below. The contrast between narrow and broad letters, standard in this style of handwriting, is not particularly pronounced. Most uprights tend to curve gently leftwards at the foot (Υ has a 'sinuous tail').

Sim. VI is separated from *Sim.* VII by a paragraphus and a short blank space, followed by a title (mostly lost). *Nomina sacra* are treated in the usual fashion. There are diaereses over initial iotas (↓25, →22). Elision is not effected in ↓25. There are itacisms (ει for ι) in ↓9, 17, 18.

The parts extant in **4707** are also transmitted by M and A. **4707** and M are usually in agreement against A, except for places where M gives a shorter text. There are several new readings (→28–9, ↓5, 16, 17, 26, 27–8), but with a single exception (↓16) they may be dismissed as errors.

The supplements are generally taken from M.

- τα εργα τα πονηρα α επραξαν κ]αι το[τε δοξαζουσι (63.6) (*Sim.* VI 3)
τον $\overline{\theta\nu}$ οτι δικαιος κριτης δικα]ιω[ς επαθεν
παντα εκαστος κατα τας πραξει]ς αυτο[υ τα δε
1 line abraded
- 5 και ευοδουνται εν παση πραξ]ει αυτων λαμ[β]α
νοντες παντα παρα του $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ οσα] αιτ[ο]υνηται και τ[ο]τ[ε]
δοξαζουσιν τον $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ οτι εμοι παρεδ]οθησαν
και ουκετι ουδεν πασχουσι των πονη]ρων λε 64.1 (*Sim.* VI 4)
γω αυτω $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ετι μοι τουτο δ]ηλω[σ]οι τι φησ[ι]
10 επιζητεις ει αρα φημι $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ το]ν αυτον χρονον
βασανιζονται οι τρυφωντες κ]αι απατωμενοι οσον

- τρυφῶσι και ἀπατῶνται λέγει] μοι τ[ον α]υτον χ[ρο
 νον βασιανίζονται εδει γαρ τους ουτω τ]ρυφῶν 64.2
 τας και επιλανθανομενους του θῦ επτα]πλάσ[ι
 15 ως βασιανίζεσθαι λέγει μοι αφ]ρων [ει και ου] νο 64.3
 εις της βασιανου την δυναμιν] ει γα[ρ ενο]ῶν φη
 μι κ̄ε ουκ αν σε επηρωτων ινα μοι] δηλωσ[η]ς ακου'έ'
 φησιν αμφοτερων την δυν]αμιν της τρυφης 64.4
 και ἀπατης ο χρονος ωρα εστι]ν μια της δ[ε] βασι
 20 νου η ωρα τριακοντα ημερων δυ]ναμιν εχει εαν ουν
 μιαν ημεραν τις τρυφηση] και απ[ατη]θη μιαν
 δε ημεραν βασιανισθη ολον ενιαυ]τον ἰσχυε[ι] η ημερα
 της βασιανου οσας ουν ημερ]ας τρυφηση τις το
 25 σουτους ενιαυτους βασιανιζ]εται βλεπεις ουν 64.5
 φησιν οτι της τρυφης και απα]της ο χρονος ε
 λαχιστος εστιν της δε τιμωρ]ιας και βα[σι]αν[ο]υ
 30 πολυς επει φημι κ̄ε ου νενοη]κα ολωσ τ[ο]υς χρο
 νους της ἀπατης και τρυφης] και βασιανου δ[η
 λωσον μοι τηλαυγεστερον α]ποκρ[ι]θεις μοι 65.1
 65.2 λέγει η αφροσυνη σου παραμονος ε]στιν και ου θε
 λεις σου την καρδιαν καθαρικ]αι και δουλευειν
 τω θῦ βλεπε φησιν μηποτε] ο χρονος πληρ[ω
 30 θη και συ αφρων ευρεθης ακου]ε νυ[ν] φησιν 65.3

- ↓ ουν εν τ]η πρα[ξι] αυτου αυται πασαι τρυφαι βλαβε (65.6)
 ραι εις]ν τοι[ς δουλοις του θῦ δια ταυτας ουν τας
 5 απατ]ας πα[σχουσιν] οι τιμωρουμενοι και βα 65.7
 ς[ανιζο]μενο[ι] εις]ιν δε και τρυφαι σωζουσαι τους αν
 5 θρ[ω]πο[υ]ς πολλο[ι] ουν αγαθον εργαζομενοι < > αυτη
 ουν η τρυφη συ[μφορος] εστιν τοις δουλοις του
 θῦ και ζωην πε[ριποιειται] τω ανθρωπω τω
 10 τοιουτω αι δε βλ[αβεραι] τρυφαι αι προειρημεναι
 βασιανους και τε[ιμωριας] αυτοις περιποιουν
 10 ται εαν δε επιμε[νωσι] και μη μετανοησων
 θ]ανατ[ον] ε]αυτοι[ς] περιποιουνται

(vac.)

π[αραβολη ζ

- μετα [ημε]ρα[ς ολιγας ειδον αυτον εις το πεδι 66.1 Sim. VII
 ον τ[ο αυ]το ο[που και τους ποιμενας εωρα
 15 κειν [κ]αι λεγ[ει μοι τι επιζητεις παρειμι φη
 μι κ̄ε [ε]περωτ[η]ς[αι σε ινα τον αγγελον τον
 τειμωρητον κ[ελευσης εκ του οικου μου ε
 ξελθειν [ο]τ[ι] λει[αν με θλιβει δει σε φησιν θλιβη
 ναι ουτ[ω γ]αρ π[ροσεταξεν ο ενδοξος αγγε
 20 λος τα περι σου θ[ελει γαρ σε και πειρασθη
 ναι τι γαρ φημι κ[ε εποιησα ουτω πονηρον
 ινα τουτω τω αγ[γελω παραδοθω ακουε φησιν 66.2
 α[ι] μεν αμαρτ[ιαι σου πολλαι αλλα ου τοσαυται
 ως[τ]ε σε τουτ[ω τω αγγελω παραδοθηναι αλ
 25 λα ο οικος σου μ[εγαλας αμαρτιας και ανομιας ηρ
 γασατο και γαρ επικρανθη ο ενδοξος αγγε
 λος επι [τ]οις ε[ργοις αυτων και δια τουτο εκε
 λευ[ς]ε χρονον [τινα θλιβηναι ινα κακει
 νοι μετανοη[ς]ωσι και καθαρικωσι εαυτους
 30 απο πα[ς]ης επ[ι]θυμιας του αιωνος τουτου

→ 2 The line is restored with M by reason of space. Ath²L¹L²E add *ἐστι καὶ* after *κριτής*. (The whole passage represented by 1–4 is omitted in A by mistake.)

3 αυτ[ο]υ with M: *αὐτῶν* Ath²L¹L².

4 If the papyrus had the same text as M, the line would have run *δουλευουσιν τω κω εν καθαρα καρδια αυτων*.

5 παση παραξ[ει] with MA: *πάσαις ταῖς πράξεσι* L¹L².

6 παντα παρα του κ̄υ restored *exempli gratia* with M: *παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πάντα* A (L¹L²).

οσα] αιτ[ο]υνηται with M (οσ[α αιτου]ν[τ]αι) L¹: *ὅς' ἂν αἰτῶνται* AL².

9 κ(υρι)ε ετι μοι τουτο δ]ηλω[ς]ω restored with A; M adds φ]ημι after μοι, but there does not seem to be space for this in our codex.

13 γαρ restored with AL¹(L²) by reason of space: om. M.

τ]ρυφω. Or] ουτω.

In M, 'There is room for more writing after *χρόνον*, perhaps *καί* (cf. L1 . . .), though the single remaining trace might belong to a φ (*φησί*) as well as to the κ of *καί* (C. Bonner).

13–14 After *βασανίζονται*, an additional sentence is present in the two Latin translations (*et dixi ei: exiguum inquam cruciantur* L¹; *et dixi, multum exiguum domine cruciantur* L²), and in F^a, a fourteenth-century patristic florilegium, which gives *οὐχ ἱκανόν, φημί, κύριε, χρόνον βασανίζονται*; In M, 'There is space for at least four letters after *βασανίζονται*. . . . it is possible that M and A agree in a common error, the omission of a sentence by

homoioteleuton (*βακανίζονται*)¹ (Bonner); this may be confirmed if F^a attests the original reading. In any case, the additional sentence is necessary to explain the γάρ that follows.

17 *ce* restored with ML²; om. AL¹.

21 *τις τρυφήρη* restored *exempli gratia* with M Ath²: *τρυφήρη τις* A. M and A agree in having *τρυφήρη τις* in the next period, and this word-order is also attested by our papyrus.

22 *ἰχθυ[ει]* restored with MA by reason of space: *ἰχθύει* L¹E(L²).

η ημερα with MA: add. *ἐκείνη* Ath²E.

24 *βακανιζ]εται* restored with MA by reason of space: *βακανιθήςεται* Ath²E.

25 *φηειν* restored with MAL¹: om. Ath²L²E.

27 *επει* restored *exempli gratia* with ML¹L²E: *ἔτι* A.

27–8 *τ[ο]υς χρ[ο]νους της απατης* with M: *περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀπάτης* A(E): *περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης* F^a: *tempora haec dulcetudinis* L¹L². (Leutzsch reconstructs the Greek original of the Latin translations as *τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης*; but this is not the meaning of *dulcetudinis ac voluptatis*.)

28–9 *δ[η]λωσον μοι τηλαυγετερον: τηλαυγέτερόν μοι δήλωσον* M (*δηλαυγετε[ρο]ν*) A. The word-order of the papyrus as restored is inferior to that of MA; but it may also be considered whether the papyrus had the same text as M, sharing with it the corrupt *δηλαυγετερον*, itself an influence from *δήλωσον*.

33 *νυ[ν]: [.]νν* M: *οὖν* A: *vñn* (*nunc*) L¹E: *vñn οὖν* (*ergo nunc*) L².

↓ 1 *εν* restored *exempli gratia* with M: *ἐπί* A.

πασαι τρυφαι restored *exempli gratia* with M: *πάσαι αἱ τρυφαί* A: *δὲ αἱ πράξεις* Ath²; add. *καὶ ἀπάται* L¹L².

5 *ουν* restored *exempli gratia* with M: *γαρ* Ath²L¹L²E (edd.): om. A.

αγαθον restored with M (*αγ[αθο]ν*) AE: *ἀγαθά* Ath² (*opera bonitatis* L¹L²).

After *ἔργαζόμενοι*, MAL¹L² continue *τρυφῶσιν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἡδονῇ φερόμενοι*; this is not present in the papyrus, possibly a case of *saut du même au même* (*ἔργαζόμενοι* - - - *φερόμενοι*) But *τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἡδονῇ φερόμενοι* is omitted in Ath²E: a mere coincidence?

7–8 *τω] τοιουτω* with AL¹L²E: om. M.

9 *αυτοις* restored with A(E) by reason of space: om. ML¹L².

10 *επιμε[νω]σι* restored *exempli gratia* with M: *ἐπιμένωσι* A. After that, there is no space for the equivalent to *in illis*, transmitted by L¹L² (*ita* E).

12 *π[αραβολη] ζ* restored with L¹L²: *παραβο[λ]η []* M: *ἀρχή* A: *παραβολή* η' E.

15 *παρειμι* restored with ML¹L²E: *παρ' ἐμοί* A, a patent corruption.

16 *[ε]περωτ[η]ς[αι]*: *ἐρωτῆσαι* M: om. AE. *ἐπερωτῆσαι* might be the original reading, with *ἐρωτῆσαι* possibly an influence from 66.6 *ἐρωτήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τιμωρητὴν ἵνα σε ἐλαφροτέρως θλίψῃ*. There is no unequivocal occurrence of *ἐρωτῆσαι* in Hermas. *ἐπερωτῆσαι* is transmitted by all witnesses twice (§§ 29.4, 31.1), while in a passage similar to ours (§ 18.2) the witnesses split (*ἐπερωτῆσαι* SB: *ἐρωτῆσαι* A) *ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ*. Generally, in Hermas *ἐπερωτᾶν* is more common than *ἐρωτᾶν*.

ce restored *exempli gratia* with L¹ (spacing does not decide): om. L² (and AE, which omit the infinitive too): [M] (Bonner restores it, but it is doubtful that there was room for it in the papyrus).

αγγελον restored *exempli gratia* with M^pE: *ποιμένα* M^{ac}AL¹L².

17 *τειμωρητον* (I. τι-): *τιμωρητὴν* A: *τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας* L¹L²: *τῆς τιμωρίας* E: [M]. The new reading is corrupt: a reference to an 'angel who ought to be punished' (*τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τιμωρητόν*) is out of place.

18 *με* restored *exempli gratia* with AL¹L²E (spacing does not decide): om. M.

19 *γαρ* *π[ρο]σεταξεν* with ML¹L²E: *γὰρ φησὶ προσέταξεν* A.

20 *και* restored with M: om. AL¹L²E.

22 *τουτω τω αγ[γε]λω* with M: *τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τούτῳ* A.

24 *ce* with M: om. A.

τουτ[ω] with AL¹L²E: om. M.

24–5 *αλ]λα:* [*αλλα*] M: *ἀλλ'* A.

25 *αμαρτίας και ανομίας* restored *exempli gratia* with ML¹L²E: *ἀνομίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας* A.

25-6 ηρ]γασατο restored *exempli gratia* with M: εἰργάσατο A.

26 γα[ρ επικρανθη: παρεπικράνθη M (π[αρεπι]κρανθη) A. The new reading may be due to a graphic confusion; that γάρ turns up several times in neighbouring passages may also have played a role. The compound occurs in 66.3 ἵνα παραπικρανθῆ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἔνδοξος, which would speak in favour of its presence here.

27-8 εκε]λευ[ε]: followed by ce in A (restored in M—space permits). The papyrus apparently omits ce by haplography.

N. GONIS

II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

4708. ARCHILOCHUS, *ELEGIES* (MORE OF VI 854 AND XXX 2507)

115/61 (fr. 1)
81 2B.85/13(d) (fr. 2–8)

fr. 1: 8.1 × 12.4 cm

Late second century
Plate IV

One large fragment and seven small tattered scraps from a papyrus roll written across the fibres. Two of the scraps bear a *coronis* each, and one of these the probable traces of a third. On the front of all fragments (except fr. 5) and along the fibres the same way up are written extensive accounts (perhaps of sales of confiscated land) in a mid-second century cursive.

Elegiacs are shown, wherever we can tell (fr. 1–5). In the largest fragment (fr. 1) a battle is narrated. The ‘fate of the gods’ (7 *μοῖρα θεῶν*) is involved. A river is mentioned, clogged with corpses (8–9). These, together with references to Telephus (5, 24), Argives (6), Ilios (15), and Trojans (20), but also Mysia (21) and Teuthras (17), point to the middle stage of Telephus’ story (reign in Mysia and opposition to the landing of the Greek army there), rather than the earliest (birth and childhood) or latest (wandering and cure; survey of treatments, including the mythographic hypotheses, in C. Preiser, *Euripides: Telephos. Einleitung, Text, Kommentar*, Spudasmata 78 (Hildesheim 2000) 41–115). Fr. 2–8, insofar as they offer anything of substance, are susceptible to interpretation in other contexts, but are also consistent with the narration of this episode.

The hand is a smallish ‘round capital’, almost always upright, written moderately rapidly, at first sight spindly but with some mannered traits: slight, deftly placed feet and decorative hooks on bottoms and tops of uprights. Largely (but not strictly) bilinear (top and bottom-lines bound all letters except ρ, γ, φ, ψ, which occasionally violate the latter). γ is written in two forms: V-shape and the champagne-glass variety with a bowl balanced on a stem. Δ with a hook left over the apex, but ο at full size, μ with rounded saddle but deep, and ω rising to full height in its centre. Less formal comparable hands may be found in Roberts, *GLH* 20b (VIII 1100, Edict of prefect, AD 206), Schubart, *PGB* 22b (M. Chr. 86, excerpts from proceedings of archidicast, AD 135), and Norsa, *SLG* 12b (BGU V 1210, Gnomon of the Idios Logos, the recto document of which carries a date of 149; the Gnomon itself refers to Antoninus Pius without adding *θεός*, which implies, if the copyist was conscientious, that it was copied before Antoninus’ death in 161). These suggest a date in the second half of the second century, probably late in the second half, which seems consistent with the mid-second century documentary hand of the accounts on the front.¹ The text is equipped with the occasional acute and circumflex accent, apostrophe, diaeresis (initial),

¹ The ‘seventh year of an emperor (Antoninus?)’ to which Grenfell and Hunt found a reference in the same accounts on the documentary front of VI 854 is due to a misinterpretation of a sequence of abbreviations that could in another context have had that sense but here means ‘seven’ of something.

and correction, all apparently by the original hand. *Paragraphus*, combined with *coronis*, presumably marks end of poem. Occasionally (and not by design) a space has crept in between words; no other form of punctuation is in evidence. Iota adscript is written wherever we expect it (fr. 1.23, 2 i 7). The pentameter is not inset.

Written in the same hand, line-spacing, and format are VI **854** containing line-beginnings overlapping (at vv. 6–9) a passage ascribed by Athenaeus 11.483d to Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἐλεγείοις (fr. 4 W. on the κώθων, connected by some with Archil. fr. 2 W.) and XXX **2507** (Adesp. eleg. 61 W.), elegiacs hesitantly ascribed by Lobel to Archilochus (line 10 could be restored as Archil. fr. 1.2 καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸ]ν δῶρον ἐπιτ[άμενος, but the preceding line is different from that quoted by Athenaeus 14.627c). The hand was identified by W. B. Henry, *ZPE* 121 (1998) 94, with further refinements on published readings and supplements. All the fragments originally belonged to one and the same roll containing on the back literary texts, arguably a book of poems by a single author. Assignment of **4708** to Archilochus rests on this identification. Similarities of diction, style, and handling of the elegiac metre corroborate up to a point. There are close parallels in phrasing with known fragments of Archilochus, with the versions of the battle in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 165 M.–W.) and the *Cypria* (arg. Procl. *Chrest.* 80, fr. 20 Bernabé), and with the language of the Homeric poems, especially *Od.* (cf. D. Page in *Archiloque*, Entretiens Fond. Hardt x (Geneva 1963) 117–63, at 125–62; M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 61 n. 1). In the hexameter the ‘feminine’ caesura predominates over the ‘masculine’ (7 out of the 10 hexameters where preserved in fr. 1), as it does in early Ionian elegy and Tyrtaeus (2:1); it predominates in the next group of poets (at Homeric level 4:3), then in Ion of Chios and Critias the masculine caesura predominates: see the statistics (to some degree outdated) of M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 112; id. *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 45. On this basis the hexameters of fr. 1 would belong to the earliest group. The pentameters in fr. 1 regularly have a syllable before the caesura that is long by nature (rather than by position), a trait often associated with the Hellenistic epigrammatists and elegiac poets after Callimachus (West, *GM* 158, cf. 181–2; Maas, *Gr. Metre* § 22; Gow–Page, *HE* xli). Archilochus’ few previously known pentameters in elegiacs exhibit variation in this respect: nine are long by nature, and eight by position (frr. 1.2, 3.1, 5.1, 3, 6.1, 8.2, 13.8, 10). But the statistics of the available studies are now badly outdated by more recent accessions of elegiacs. It may be noted that Tyrtaeus has several such runs (ten successive pentameters in elegiacs in fr. 10 with naturally long syllables just before the caesura), while exhibiting variation in this respect overall. Cf. XXX **2507** = Adesp. eleg. 61 — from the same roll as **4708** — in which the syllables in 4 and 14 are long by position at the caesura, while 6 and 8 are long by nature.

The length of the passage contained in fr. 1 would seem to rule out a collection of excerpts or a gnomic anthology like P. Hibeh II 173, which pairs verses of Archilochus (frr. 219–21 W.) with their Homeric counterparts in *κύγκρις* (cf. J. Barns, *CQ* 44 (1950) 132–7 and 45 = n.s. 1 (1951) 1–19 on gnomic anthologies). The copy was an extensive, critical edition: **4708**, VI **854**, XXX **2507** together show remains of 112+ lines (56+ distichs). It contained short poems (**4708** fr. 8, six verses) together with long ones (fr. 1, at least 24 verses).

4708 fr. 3 ii and fr. 5 show *coronides*; the same marginal graphic can be discerned in VI **854** 2 (plate I).² **4708** fr. 1.7, 10 show acute accents; fr. 2.6 and XXX **2507** 3 (plate I) show circumflex accents. **4708** fr. 6.10 shows an interlinear variant. A *paragraphus* marking end of poem (and associated with the *coronis*) occurs in fr. 3 ii 7 and 5.2, as well as in VI **854** 1 together with at least one other critical sign, a 'dash' (Hunt) opposite v. 5.

Archilochus' elegiacs are well known (testimonia in W. Crönert, *Archilochi elegiae* (Göttingen 1911) 3): fr. 1-14 and (less certainly) 15-17 W., parts of seventy-some verses of elegy. Only half of these are complete verses or nearly so. Three previously known papyri, deriving from two different rolls, contain them: XXIII **2356** (a) and (b) (fr. 9, 10 W. respectively); from the same roll as **4708**: VI **854** (fr. 4 W.) and XXX **2507** (Adesp. eleg. 61. W., cf. XXX **2508** = Adesp. eleg. 62 W.). **4708** fr. 1 is now the longest consecutive run.

Elegiacs of a narrative sort on mythological subjects are rare before the Hellenistic period, even more so in early elegy ('not used, so far as we can tell, for the straightforward telling of myths and legends': West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 18). How far did the battle-narrative in fr. 1 extend? It may have been introduced in fr. 1.5 (see 4-5 nn. and 16-21 n.); it has not certainly been concluded when the fragment breaks off. It thus extended to at least 20 lines and probably more. Even at this length (as in the case of the Deianeira narrative fr. 286-8 W.) its narration as a mythical exemplum as part of a larger poem cannot be ruled out. The story of Telephus (and in particular the stage narrated here) might well have recommended itself as a comparison to a poet who sang about defending (not always successfully) his own country's soil, or occupying another's. There is no clear direct address nor hortatory locution. For a possible first person verb (-μ]εθα?) see fr. 1.4 n.

The events narrated in fr. 1 are discernible in broad outline; what happens at the beginning and end of the column is anything but clear: (i) mentions of cowardice and flight, leading to the mention of: (ii) Arcadian Telephus, who routed the Argive warriors when they landed on Mysian soil (5-7), (iii) slaying them to such a degree that the river was filled with corpses (8-9); (iv) Telephus has a fierce *aristeia*: the Argives are worsted and the Mysians drive them back to their ships (10-15); (v) the Argives, having lost their way to Troy, had arrived at the Mysian shore, and approached the city of Teuthras in search of Troy (16-21); (vi) someone encounters Telephus; there is a shout, and a fierce battle (22-4); (vii) mention of a father, and death (or an immortal) (25, 28).

It is not certain that fr. 1.1-4 tell the story of Telephus or, rather, (as Professor Parsons suggests) introduce it as a comparison to the poet's own concerns in a larger poem, perhaps along the lines of, or even continuing, Archil. fr. 5 W. on the loss of the poet's shield (see 4-5 nn.). In the standard version, e.g. as told in the *Cypria* (arg. Procl. *Chrest.* 80, fr. 20 Bernabé; F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus* ii (Bonn 1865) 136-41; A. Kiessling, U. v. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886) 48), the Greeks lose their way en route to Troy and land on the Mysian coast. The Mysians drive the Greeks back to their ships; Telephus slays Thersander

² Earlier mistaken for the stichometric letter Θ (whence it has found its way into the existing studies on stichometry and on Archilochus as 'line 800'), it may now be seen to be the central portion of the same form of *coronis* as in **4708** fr. 3 and 5.

α or right corner of Δ? . . . , series of at least 3 faded uprights . . . , rounded bottom of bowl as of ε ο c] . . . , horizontal at mid-level as of ε η; end of horizontal at top line . . . [, bottom of round letter as ε θ ο c ω; top of upright . . . , back and bottom of lunate letter as ε c . . . 8 . . . , upright; diagonal connecting to an upright at bottom as α1 or η, but spacing allows τ α1 or η η . . . ε . [, trace of vertical at bottom line ε, cap as of ε or c with vertical connecting to bowl of γ at mid-level, ε distinctly suggested . . . 7, upright with hair-line horizontal resting on top . . . 9] . . . , centre part of upright at mid-level, followed by horizontal at top-line as of z z π τ, followed by two indistinct traces at bottom-line, possibly feet of uprights . . . empty space between ων and cτ . . . , trace at bottom-line (of foot of upright?) . . . 10 . . . ν, before ν diagonals bowed inward meeting at apex as μ λ α . . . ν . . . ο . . . , possibly the left part of a round letter as ε θ ο c, but ρ or upper arm of κ not excluded; vertical inclining to the right with horizontal protruding from centre; upright with diagonal descending from top; after ο, bottom of upright or short horizontal at base-line, c not excluded, but spacing better for a narrow letter like ι or ρ . . . θ . . . , after θ an upright; trace at top-line in upper-right quadrant of letter-space as of η η π τ; two diagonals converging at apex as of α or λ . . . 11] . . . , two tiny hooks over left and over right suggesting arms of γ blank space between τ ο c and ε ν . . . 12] . . . , cluster of flecks at mid-level (centre of letter-space) and at the top-line . . . , diagonal stroke, probably an extension of tail of preceding a connecting to foot of upright? at base-line, then fleck of horizontal ink at base-line, perhaps bottom of round letter . . . empty space between ο ν and ε ν . . . , top of upright in upper-right quadrant as of η or η . . . [, foot of diagonal inclining to upper-right as of α Δ λ x 13] . . . , horizontal traces at top line and bottom line curving slightly down and up respectively as tips of jaws of ε, c é, acute accent, nearly horizontal, apparently by same hand at time of writing . . . α . . . , back of round letter as ε θ ο c ω . . .] . . . [, vertical with diagonal extending to upper left from mid-level as γ . . . [] . . . , after gap trace of ink at base-line on edge of break as though from foot of vertical (η κ π η) . . .] . . . , vertical with serifed foot at bottom and a horizontal balanced on top and curving upward at right, possibly τ or a shallow-bowled γ (as in δ ο ν in 16) . . . [, back of round letter as of ε θ ο c ω . . . 14 . . . , foot of upright or end of horizontal at base-line . . . c . . . , high horizontal at left and foot of upright centred in letter space, suggesting τ, with apostrophe centred above . . . θ, triangular letter, α or Δ suggested . . . , faded vestiges of upper-right arm as of κ γ x connecting to near horizontal ink at bottom line as sometimes in κ; triangular letter as α or Δ; upright centred in the letter-space . . . [, bottom part of round letter as ε θ ο c; bottom part and foot of upright . . . 15 . . . , trace at bottom-line . . . empty space between η ν and η γ . . . [, ink at mid-level in left part of letter-space followed by stripped fibres . . . 16] . . . , trace at bottom-line . . . , horizontal trace in upper-right quadrant as of τ τ; round letter with horizontal stroke in middle as ε θ; trace of horizontal ink at mid-level . . . 17 . . . , right end of cap of ε or c; tips of two diagonals converging at apex as α Δ λ; horizontal stroke at mid-level as ε or η connecting to vertical descending below the line as (occasionally) ρ or γ . . . , small tight raised bowl as of ρ or ε with closed top . . . empty space between η ν and π . . .] . . . [, speck at mid-level and possible vertical descending just before it on stripped fibres 18] . . . [, indistinct trace at top-line; right and left sides of round letter as ε θ ο c; horizontal trace at mid-lower level . . .] . . . , indistinct trace; horizontal trace at right at level of top-line as of π τ or cap of ε c; upright with diagonal descending from top suggesting η, then (after hole) lower-right part of round letter as ε θ ο c . . . , upright with horizontal balanced on top as π τ; top of round letter with horizontal at mid-level as ε θ; after hole, lower-right part of round letter as ε θ ο c . . . ω c, after ω, c falling even more forward than elsewhere, but not quite closed as in ο . . . [, left end of horizontal continuing from right arm of γ and trace in centre of letter-space at base-line as of τ; short horizontal ink or bottom of round letter in centre of letter-space at base-line as of Δ z ο 19] . . . [, horizontal trace at bottom-line, possibly of a round letter or middle of μ or tail of α or Δ connecting to following letter, with descender below the line: φ ψ; then small round circle . . . empty space between ο ν and α κ . . . [, right upper and lower arms as of κ or x; bottom and left side of round letter as ε θ μ ο c ω . . . 20] . . . , vertical ink with connecting stroke protruding at mid-level to right suggesting η . . . , indistinct traces of two letters, the first at the top-line, the second at the bottom-line; right end of a high horizontal as of τ π τ . . . v̄, possible ink of the first dot of diaeresis over ν . . . , traces at top and bottom-lines suggesting two uprights as of η π . . . , trace of ink at top-line close-in to preceding ι . . . 21] . . . , dot above the line; diagonals bowed inward and converging at apex, with loop at left as of α or connecting stroke to middle of λ; upright (?) as of γ η ι κ η . . .] . . . , short high horizontal; upright with horizontal connecting near top as of η (π excluded); diagonal connecting to

Fr. 3 col. i

1],, end of high horizontal with no trace of ink on surface below, thus π τ excluded: τ? after ο (not closed at bottom) connecting stroke to diagonal descending from top to mid-level as left arm of γ 2], . . ., slanting upright with horizontal ink at top right as of τ ρ τ or right leg of π (but spacing suggest the first), then left leg as of λ λ × . . . [, upright with diagonal descending from top as ν, then two uprights (the second with foot curving right) as of η 3],, foot of upright centred as of ι, with circumflex accent above clearly preserved 8 upper right arm of κ x or acute accent

Fr. 3 col. ii

6-8 *coronis*; to its right: traces of initial letters of three successive lines visible due to column drift on an otherwise straight vertical edge 6],, slanting diagonal as of ι τ; trace just beneath it possibly left end of *paragraphos* (corresponds with centre and mid-level of the *coronis* at left) 7],, diagonal on edge as of left leg of λ x or nose of λ 8 left side of round letter as of ο ω

Fr. 4

· · · ·
] ηϵ
]. []
] νοφρετιπασα [
]. [
 5] . . [
 · · · ·

Fr. 4

1],, upright as ι η ν 2],, dot on the line 4],, large round dot high in the line, possibly a blob on the bottom of the cross-stroke of φ descending from the line above 5],, diagonal descending from top of upright or diagonal as λ ν, apex of diagonals connecting at top as of λ λ λ

Fr. 5

· · · ·
]. [
]
] δω . [
]
 5]. ο [
 · · · ·

Fr. 5

1 dot on vertical fibre 3],, two points of ink above the line compatible with round letter or horizontal of π τ 5],, two short horizontals one above the other as top and mid-stroke of ε [, vertical rising high in the line as of ι, wavering horizontal ink at level of the line curving upward at each end: ν ω?, round letter not closed at top, possibly forming ω with following vertical, then stroke connecting diagonally downward from top of vertical or of ν

- . [] ω [] . [.] εθα . [1-2] α φυγεῖν φευγ[
 5 ο . [. .] ου . [] ο . . ω . [] Τήλεφος Ἄρκ . [
 Ἄργείων ἐφόβησε πολὺν στρατ[. .] . [
- ἄλκιμοι,] ἦ τόσα δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν ἐφόβει,
 αἰχμηταί περ ἑόντε[ς.] ἑυρρείτης δὲ Κ[αῖκος
 π]ιπτόντων νεκύων στείνετο και[
- 10 Μύσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ θῖγα πολυφλοίσβοι[ο θαλάσσης
 χέρσ'] ὕπ' ἀμειλίκτου φωτὸς ἐναιρό[μενοι
 προ]τροπάδην ἀπέκλινον ἐυκνήμη[ιδες Ἀχαιοί.
 ἀ]σπασιοὶ δ' ἐς νέας ὦ[κ]υπόρ[ο]υς [ἐέβαν
 παῖδες τ' ἀθανάτων καὶ ἀδελφοί, [οὓς Ἀγαμέμνων
 15 Ἴλιον εἰς ἱερὴν ἦγε μαχρηομένο[υς.
 ο]ἱ δὲ τότε βλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παραθ[
 Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἔρατὴν πρὸς πόλιν [.] . [
 ε]νθα [μ]ένος πνείοντες ὁμως αὐτο[
 1-2] . . [. . .] ηι μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκη . . [
 20 .] . ν . . γὰρ ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰς[
 . .] . . . [] . ην δ' ἐπάτευν Μυσιδα πυροφόρο[ν
] τη . [.] βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον [υῖόν
 . .] ρον . . [. .] . . [.] δηῖωι ἐν [πολ]έμ[ωι
 Τ]ήλεφον ο οἱσι κακη . [.] . [

] .[
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Fr. 4

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] . ης
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 . ν ὄφρ' ἔτι πασα[
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 5] . . []

Fr. 5

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] δω . []
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Fr. 6

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] . []
] ο []
] ην . . . []
] . κτε []
 5] . . ῥεα []
] ε . . . [] ε []
] . ιδα . . . []
] πρωτ . . []
 ὁ] στέα λε[υκὰ
 10 . . . ἔειδε . . []
 [] χηκ []
 . . . ε . . []

]...[
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Fr. 7

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5]π.[
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Fr. 8

ε.[
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Fr. 1

'... because of mighty necessity . . . cowardice . . . to flee . . . flee . . . Telephus routed the great army of Argives. The brave men fled—indeed, so greatly was the fate of the gods routing them—spear-men though they were. And fair-flowing Kaikos and the Mysian (plain?) were stuffed with corpses as they fell. And being slain at the hands of the relentless man (Telephus), the well-greaved Achaeans turned-off with headlong speed to the shore of the much-resounding sea. Gladly did the sons of the immortals and brothers, whom Agamemnon was leading to holy Ilium to wage war, embark on their swift ships. On that occasion, because they had lost their way . . . toward the lovely city of Teuthras, where, despite their valorous ardour . . . in distress of spirit. For to the high-gated city of Troy . . . but they had their feet on wheat-bearing Mysia . . . shouting to his brave-hearted son . . . Telephus . . . in fierce battle . . . evil . . . gratifying his father . . .'

Fr. 1

Elegiacs; the hexameter precedes. Placement relative to VI **854**, XXX **2507** and priority to frs. 2–8 is not certain (see frs. 6–8 n.).

1 The traces cannot be reconciled with Archil. fr. 5.4.

2 κρατερῆ[ε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης (W. B. Henry): Archil. fr. 13.6 ἐπὶ κρατερῆν τλημοσύνην ἔθεσαν; *Il.* 6.458 κρατερῆ δ' ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη; *Od.* 10.273 κρατερῆ δέ μοι ἔπλετο ἀνάγκη; 2.110 οὐκ ἐθέλους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης; Thgn. 195–6 ἐπεὶ κρατερῆ μιν ἀνάγκη / ἐντύει; 387 (of poverty) βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας, κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης; Bacchyl. fr. 11.46, 20A.19; *PMG* Adesp. 1017.2.

3 .αι. Either καιί or γαί (Thgn. 1045, but unlikely here) would suit the trace; a monosyllable after the caesura is required. At the beginning M. L. West suggests οὐ δ]εῖ [ἀ]ν[αλκίη]ν.

κακότητ(α): a favourite word in the elegists (16× Thgn., 1× Euenus, Solon, Tyrnt.), in keeping with the concern for moral criteria elsewhere in early elegy and iambus more generally (see on 4 φυγεῖν φευγ[ε]). Cf. fr. 2 i 7 κ[α]κότητος (context uncertain, but see 6 ἀρετῆι), Tyrnt. fr. 10.10 πάσα δ' ἀτιμίη καὶ κακότης ἔπεται (of the coward in battle); Thgn. 1082b πολλὴν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν (of the city's bad leaders); West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 15–18. The sense of κακότης here could be either 'disaster' or 'cowardice'. If κακότητ(α) is the object of 4 φυγεῖν φευγ[ε], it would mean simply 'avoid trouble', as it does at *Od.* 3.175 ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπέκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν, 5.414 ἐκφυγέω κακότητα. Either sense would be suited to a martial context, though hardly entails it, or even a specific κακότης, like Telephus' wounding or suffering as a result of it; at any rate, he cannot have received this yet when he routs the Argives in 6, and it is not in fact certain he is already concerned here: we get a separate mention (introduction?) of him in 5.

κακότηταλεγει[ε]. Division uncertain: (i) κακότητ' followed by ἀλέγει(ν), 'to have a care for' (cf. Archil. fr. 5.3 τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη), 'mind', 'heed' (often negated, but the beginning of 4 will not accommodate e.g. οὐδέν), more frequently with a genitive (e.g. *Od.* 9.115, 275) than an accusative, but the accusative is well-exemplified: *Il.* 16.388 = Hes. *Op.* 251 θεῶν ὅων οὐκ ἀλέγοντες; *Od.* 6.268 νηῶν ὅπλα μελαινάων ἀλέγουσιν; Simonides *PMG* 38.15 ἄχνα . . . κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγει, οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον; (ii) perhaps more likely, κακότητα and λέγει(ν) in the sense 'tell', 'enumerate'. Thus perhaps ἀ[δύν]α[το]ν καὶ κακότητ' ἀλέγει[ν], it was 'impossible even to have a care for cowardice', or κακότητα λέγει[ν], 'to call (this) cowardice' or 'to tell of the disaster' (note also ἀλέγω with ἐν + dat. in the sense of 'count/regard (something) as among (something else)', Alcman *PMG* fr. 1.2, Pi. *O.* 2.78).

4]εθα. If -μ]εθα, we would have an internal speaker (exhortation?), whether part of the narrative of the Mysian battle, or in the poet's own voice, or an interlocutor's, e.g. γῶπ' ἐτ[ρηψάμ]εθ(α) (M. L. West).

[1–2]α. The trace suggests α, Δ, or λ: thus αἰ[ψ]α (M. L. West) or δ[ή]α? If so, e.g. π[ειρώμ]εθα δ[ή]α φυγεῖν φεύγ[οντες ἐρίζω]ν / αὔριον, might be tried: 'let us attempt to escape destruction and by fleeing to contend tomorrow', along the lines of Men. *Monost.* 56 Jäkel ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχίρεται; cf. *Il.* 2.140 φεύγομεν κύν νηυσί. For contracted δῆιος see e.g. Tyrnt. fr. 12.12, Mimn. fr. 14.9, Thgn. 552, West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 84; the uncontracted form below in 23. For αὔριον cf. Simonides *PMG* 521 ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν μὴ ποτε φάσις ὅτι γίνεταί αὔριον.

φυγεῖν φευγ[ε]. Accusations of cowardice? φυγεῖν· φεύγ[ειν δέ τις ὄρη]? (M. L. West). φεύγ[ον δὲ καὶ ἐσθλοί]? (D. J. Mastrorarde). φεύγ[ον δὲ καὶ αὐτός]? (C. Murgia); cf. Tyr. 5.8. Flight is not explicitly mentioned in Archil. fr. 5, which rather speaks of 'saving himself', αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα (if that is indeed the right reading, as seems likely, against Sextus' αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον). G. I. C. Robertson, *Evaluative Language in Greek Lyric and Elegiac Poetry and Inscribed Epigram to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.E.*, D.Phil. thesis (Oxford 1999) ch. 2.5 'Fight or Flight' pp. 64–71, notes (p. 65) that funerary epigram mentions the idea only to reject it, citing *CEG* 118 (Thessaly, c.475–450?) in which it is said of the fallen warrior that οὐκ ἐπίστατο φεύγειν. So also Tyrnt. fr. 11.14; cf. 9 μετὰ φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε. For the repetition of the verb: Hdt. 5.95 of Alcaeus (fr. 428b) φεύγων ἐκφεύγει; Callin. fr. 1.12–15, of the man who thinks that by escaping the destruction of battle he can escape the fate of death: 12/14 θάνατόν τε φυγεῖν . . . δηϊότητα φυγών (concluding at 15 ἐν δ' οὐκω μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου). Such repetition seems to have been a stylistic feature of the poem (6–7 ἐφόβησε . . . ἐφόβει, 10/16 ἐπὶ θίγα . . . παρὰ [θίν(α)]?, 22/4 τη . . . [Τ]ήλεφον), as it is of Archilochus elsewhere: e.g. fr. 2 ἐν δορί . . . ἐν δορί / . . . ἐν δορί; 23.14–15 ἐπ]ίσταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έο]ν[τα] μὲν φιλ[ι]λεῖν, / [τὸ]ν δ' ἐχθρόν ἐχθαίρειν; 26.6 πήμαινε καὶ σφας ὄλλυ' ὥσπερ ὄλλυεις.

5]ο. .ω. [] Τήλεφος. Before Τήλεφος,]οχέω[] or]οξεών[] seem the likeliest reading (less plausibly]οξεών[]?). Thus]ό γε ώς, 'as' or 'when' (cf. Hes. fr. 165.19], ως δ' ἴκοντο), introducing the narrative that follows as an exemplum? (But I would have much preferred ὡς τε = ὡς περ: Archil. fr. 21.1, 41.1(?), 43.2(?), 125.1, 196a.47, 216, 224; in elegy: Thgn. 56, Solon fr. 13, and often, or ὡς ὅτε or ὁπότε, or εἵκελος or τοῖος οἶος.) M. L. West suggests καί ποτ[ε μ]οῦρος ἐών (cf. *Il.* 4.388, 17.94).

Ἄρκ [~ ~ - : Ἄρκα[κίδης? (not in LSJ or Rev. Suppl.). So Hes. fr. 165.8 M.-W. ἦ τέκε] Τήλεφον Ἄρκακίδην Μυσῶν βασιλῆ[α. Or Ἄρκα[κ ἐών? For Ἄρκα[κ see Archil. fr. 112.4(?), Tyrt. fr. 23a.15(?), Simonides *FGE* V Πάνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα; uncontracted ἐών: Archil. fr. 91.5, 171.1, 205; at end of pentameter, Thgn. 148, 794 δίκαιος ἐών; 866 οὐδὲν ἐών). Metre does not decide between Ἄρκα[κίδης and Ἄρκα[κ ἐών: according to West, *Greek Metre* p. 159, only 13% of pentameters in Tyrtaeus have an accented syllable at the end (24.4% in Mimnermus, etc.; no statistics given for Archilochus). There is a very marked decline in Hellenistic elegiacs. (West speaks of a 'gradually increasing tendency' to avoid an accented final syllable in the pentameter, with Archilochus standing at the upper end.) Archilochus' preserved pentameters, too small a sample to be statistically significant, show no such instance. (Allowance must also be made for the expected percentage taken at random, i.e. the percentage of Greek words alone or in combination with the right metrical shape that have the last syllable accented.) Ἄρκαδικός (prose, Menander, Callim. h. 3.88, epigrammatists in *AP*) is not attested earlier than the Hellenistic period.

Ἄρκα[κίδης seems to presuppose that Telephus and his story are here introduced in the poem (otherwise, we would already know who he is); and from this it would follow that 1-4 does not refer specifically to the Mysian battle, but to some situation external to the Mysian narrative, such as another mythical battle or Archilochus' own contemporary military exploits, to which the Mysian experience is compared. With Ἄρκα[κ ἐών, however, the participle could be concessive (with Telephus already part of the narrative): although he was Arcadian, and therefore Greek, he was killing/routing Greeks (who ought to have been allies).

6 πολλὸν στρατ[. . .]. Presumably πολλὸν στρατ[ὸν ~ ~ ~ --; cf. Archil. fr. 88 ἀνολβος ἀθροίζεται στρατός; *Il.* 8.472 ὀλλύντ' Ἀργείων πούλὸν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν. At end: στρατ[όν,] ο[ὐ] δὲ φέβοντο? or ο[ὐ] δὲ ἐγένοντο? (M. L. West).

7 ἄλκιμοι. Cf. *Il.* 11.483 Τρῶες ἔπον πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι; Archil. fr. 95 ἀλκίμοι (but the context is lost); 148]ρους ἀλκίμους; Adesp. iamb. 38.10 ἀλκιμωτέρους; Callim. fr. 1.1 ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν, 10-11 ὑπ' ἀπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ / ἔλας; Tyrt. fr. 10.17, 24 ἄλκιμον . . . θυμόν; Anacr. iamb. fr. 2.1 ἀλκίμων . . . φίλων; Timocr. iamb. fr. 7 ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

τόσα (R. Janko) may refer to the comparison with Telephus in 5-6 (assuming ὡς in 5): 'so greatly as this' (i.e. as Telephus routed/slew them). Or the reference may be to a situation (Archilochus'?) outside the narrative: 'so great a fate as this (i.e. our present predicament)'. On the other hand, τόσα could have limiting force: 'only as far as this', 'to this extent' (since the Mysian victory will be for Telephus short-lived, as 18 ff. tells); the latter sense at Archil. fr. 15 Γλαῦκ', ἐπικούρος ἀνὴρ τόσσον φίλος ἔσκε μάχηται.

μοῖρα θεῶν. Cf. *Od.* 3.269 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι; Solon fr. 13.30 (cf. 63) μηδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιούσα κίχη; A. R. 1.440 ὑμῖν μὲν δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν χρεῖώ τε περῆσαι; Archil. fr. 16 πάντα τύχη καὶ μοῖρα, Περικλεες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσι (see on 5); Stesich. *PMGF* S15.9-10 (of Heracles killing Geryones) διὰ δ' ἔσχιεσιν κάρκα [καὶ] ὀ[στ]έα δαίμονος αἶσαι. Cf. 2 θεοῦ κρατερῆ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. The reference need not be a specific one. But in the background could be: (i) the oracle that the Argives could only reach Troy 'with a Greek leading them' (= Arcadian-born Telephus); (ii) the oracle according to which Telephus could only be cured by 'the one wounding' (= Achilles' spear); or (iii) a point of comparison to a situation (Archilochus'?) outside the narrative? Where Telephus is concerned, μοῖρα θεῶν might allude to his later reversal of fortune (for having offended Dionysus) and his wounding by Achilles, illustrating e.g. a principle like that of ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε: νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας / ἐτράπεθ', αἱματόεν δ' ἔλκος ἀναστρένομεν, / ἐξαυτίς δ' ἑτέρους ἐπαμείβεται in Archil. fr. 13.7-9.

ἐφόβει (R. Janko): 'routed' (the Homeric sense), with 'Argives' understood. Telephus put the entire brave company of the Argives to rout under the fate of the gods.

8 αἰχμηταί περ' ἐόντε[ς (P. J. Parsons). Archil. fr. 91.5 αἰ]χμητῆς ἐών; 24.13 χερσὶν αἰχμητῶν ὕπο; fr. spur. 324.3 of Heracles and Aiolaos αἰχμητὰ δύω; Tyrt. fr. 5.6 αἰχμηταί πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες; 19.13 ἀ]ρδράειν αἰχμηταί.

ἐυρρείτης δὲ Κ[αίκοις. Hes. *Theog.* 343 (rivers begotten on Tethys by Oceanus) Πηνεῖόν τε καὶ Ἐρμιον ἐυρρείτην τε Κάϊκον; *Il.* 6.34 Κατιόντος ἐυρρείταο; Eur. *Τρ.* 810 Συμόντι ἐπ' εὐρείτῃ. Site of the battle: Pi. *I.* 5. 41 τίς ἄρ' ἐκλὸν Τήλεφον / τρώσεν ἑὼν δορὶ Καΐκου παρ' ὄχθαις, i.e. the Meian plain (Paus. 1.4.6), distinct from the sea shore, θίνα (10, 16?), the estuary at the coast where the Argives landed.

9 π[ιπτόντων νεκύων στείνετο. The images are familiar, both the falling corpses (same unexpected present tense of πίπτω as in Homer *Il.* 10.199–200 νεκύων διεφαίνετο χώρος / πιπτότων), and the river stuffed with them (Q.S. 7.100 νεκρῶν δ' ἐστείνετο γαῖα; id. 9.160 πέδον δ' ἐστείνετο νεκρῶν). Differently at Ovid *Mét.* 12.111–12 *ruuritus populari caede Caicus / fluxit* and Philostr. *Her.* 23.24 ὑφ' ὧν ἡματωμένον ῥυήναι τὸν Κάϊκον, on which basis an Alexandrian or Pergamene version has been postulated as a common source (but cf. *Il.* 21.21).

καί[υυ-: καὶ [ὄχέων? (hiatus blocked by digamma); [ξίφείων? (expansion of the simpler image at *Il.* 10.199–200; Archil. fr. 3.3 ξιφείων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσεται ἔργον). Or (preferably) καὶ [πεδίων? (schema Alcmanicum/Pindaricum): cf. Pi. *O.* 9.71 Τεύθραντος πεδίων; *I.* 8.50–1 Ἀχιλλεύς· ὁ καὶ Μύκιον ἀμπελόεν / αἶμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ῥαίων φόνου πεδίων; Archil. fr. 3.2–3 εὖτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἀρης κυνάγη / ἐν πεδίω; so Pausanias 8.45.7 describes the subject of the west pediment of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea as τὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν πεποιημένα ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Τηλέφου πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐστὶν ἐν Καΐκου πεδίω μάχη; at 1.4.6 he refers to the battle site as τὸ Μήιον πεδίων. If καί[is not assumed: καί[νότερα (adverbial)?

10–13 The Argives, having been met and worsted, are driven back willy-nilly to the sea shore. In the *Cypria* (arg. Procl. *Chrest.* 80, fr. 20 Bernabé, Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17) Telephus slew Thersander son of Polynices, but there is no separate mention of that here. Pausanias 9.5.14 refers to the episode as ἡ πλῆγῃ ('reverse' or 'setback') περὶ Μυσιάν. According to *Cypria* fr. 20 (I) Bernabé and Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17, Telephus πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

10 πολυφλοῖσβοι[ο θαλάσσης; Archil. fr. 13.3–4 κατὰ κύμα πολυφλοῖσβοιο θαλάσσης / ἔκλυεν (contrast the description of the sea in fr. 8.1 πολυῆς ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι). In Homer the epithet is always so completed, e.g. *Il.* 23.59 Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ πολυφλοῖσβοιο θαλάσσης. Nicander and Nonnus have πολυφλοῖσβοιο μερίμνας, μελάθρον, κυδοιμοῦ, τραπέζης.

11 φωτός: presumably Telephus.

χέρσ'] ὕπο (M. L. West): *Il.* 16.420, 452, 21.208; cf. Archil. fr. 24.13. Cf. Hes. fr. 165.12 M.–W. Δαρδαν]ιδῶν μεγαθύμων φύλον ἐναιρ[.

12 προ]τροπάδην. Line-initial at *Il.* 16.304 προτροπάδην φοβέοντο; cf. Pi. *P.* 4.94, *SH* 946.5; Nonn. *Dion.* 34.257. A. R. 2.143 has περιτροπάδην; Orpian has ὑπο- and ἀπο-.

ἀπέκλινον. Hes. fr. 165.14–15 M.–W. αὐτὰρ Τήλεφος] ἔτραπ' Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτών[ων] / . . . μελαινώων ἐπὶ ν[ηῶν]; Pi. *O.* 9.72–3 ὄτ' ἀλκάντας Δαναοὺς τρέψαις ἀλίσαιιν / πρύμναις Τηλέφος ἔμβαλεν; Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17 τοὺς Μυσοὺς καθοπλίσας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κυνέδιωκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Taken alone, the traces would allow either ἀπέκλινον or ἀνέκλινον. The former would mean 'turn off' or 'aside' (*Od.* 19.556), or 'turn back' (*h. Ven.* 168). At Xen. *Anab.* 2.2.16 and Theocr. 7.130 ἀποκλίνω means 'turn aside' or 'off the road'; differently, Stesich. *PMGF* S15.14 ἀπέκλινε δ' ἄρ' αὐχένα Γαρ[υόνας]. In Homer ἀνακλίνω never means 'lay low', i.e. 'kill', as κλίνω does (cf. *Il.* 5.37 Τρώας δ' ἔκλιναν Δαναοί, *Od.* 9.59 Κίκοιες κλίναν δαμάσαντες Ἀχαιοῦς), though some at least of the ancient commentators think it means 'turn aside' i.e. 'put to flight'. At *Od.* 11.525 (ἀνακλίνει πυκινὸν λόχον) it means 'suspend or delay an action'. If that were the sense here, then the point would be that the Mysians did not annihilate the Argives, but only hindered them from attaining their goal, Troy (cf. 16).

ἐυκνήμ[ιδες Ἀχαιοί: so typically in *Il.* (2.17, etc.) and *Od.* (2.72, etc.); the latter (but not the former) also has the completion ἐταῖροι (2.402, etc.).

13 ἀ]σπᾶσιοι. They were glad to reach shelter, finding welcome relief and conveyance in their ships; according to the standard version they then depart, only to be scattered by a storm. ἀσπᾶσιοι initial at *Il.* 21.607 ἀσπᾶσιοι προτὶ ἄστν, *Od.* 23.238 ἀσπᾶσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης, 296 ἀσπᾶσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἴκοντο. Close to the language of the present passage is *Od.* 9.465–7 πολλὰ περιτροπέοντες ἐλαύνομεν, ὄφρ' ἐπὶ νῆα / ἰκόμεθ'. ἀσπᾶσιοι δὲ φίλοις ἐτάροις φάνημεν, / οἱ φύγομεν θάνατον· τοὺς δὲ στενάχοντο γοῶντες.

δ' ἐ νέας. The flight to the ships, ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, is part of the standard version of the story (e.g. *Cypria*) and reminiscent of *Il.* 2.74, 140 (φεύγειν/φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσί), 175 (φεύξεσθ' ἐν νήεσσι). As presented, νέας must be scanned as a monosyllable in synizesis; cf. *Od.* 9.283 νέα, and νέας in the Hymn of the Kouretes 58 (*Coll. Alex.* 161). But ε + short α is regularly contracted in iambus (West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 82) and there is possibly a

similar phenomenon in *-εε* stems (West, *Studies* 96), while the neuter plural in *-εα* could equally be taken as monosyllabic in Thgn. 179 and Sol. 4.34 (cf. West, *Studies* 97), as it is in XXX 2507 = Adesp. eleg. 61 (but see intro. above) 12 *δακρυόεντα β[έ]λα* (West, *CQ* 80 (1966) 22). For contracted *ε + α* (whether long or short) see Archil. fr. 10.2 *αφέας*; fr. 13.7 *ήμέας* (cf. short *-αε* in non-contracted *ήμέας* etc. transmitted sometimes in the Homeric text: Chantr. I 269). Emending to *δέ {ε} νέας* at the caesura is ruled out by metre; reading *αφέας* is ruled out by the traces. The scribe's acute accent over *ε* shows that *έας* is not to be read.

ώ[κ]υπόρ[ο]υς. Different epithet from Hes. fr. 165.15 M.-W. *μελαινάων ἐπὶ ν[η]ών*. Cf. Archil. fr. 89.21 *οἱ δ' ἐν ὠκείησι () νηυσί*; 98.14 ?ν[η]υ[κ]ίν (Lobel) *θοήσι*. In elegy *νήεε* are not infrequently *θοαί*: so also Archil. fr. 4.6, 106.1, Thgn. 12, Solon fr. 19.3.

[έ]εβαν. Or [έ]φνον (M. L. West). The Argives reach their ships after the retreat, the conclusion of the action on Mysian soil and of this stage of the story.

14 *παιδές τ' ἀθανάτων καὶ ἀδελφείοι*: 'sons of immortals and brothers', a striking collocation. Cf. *Il.* 15.187 *τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφείοι οὐκ τέκετο Πέα*; A. R. 3.657 *ἀδελφείοι ἠὲ τοκῆεε*. Agamemnon and Menelaus (who were alternately leaders: see 15) could hardly be called 'sons of immortals', in the way that, say, the Dioscuri or Achilles could. But Homer frequently adverts to Greek heroes as *υἷεε* 'Αχαιῶν (*Il.* 1.162, 2.72, 4.114, 6.255; *Od.* 2.115, 3.104, 4.285, 8.514), to specific warriors as *υἷεε* Ἄρηος (*Il.* 2.512, 9.82), and once to the *Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν υἷεε* (*Od.* 24.38), of which the present expression may be an analogous expansion based on cases like Achilles. Cf. West on Hes. *Theog.* 240 *τέκνα θεάων*.

14-15 *οὐκ Ἀγαμέμνων* / Ἴλιον εἰς ἱερὴν ἦγε μαχησομένο[υς. Cf. Ibycus *PMGF* S151.19-21 *ἦρωαε ἐςθ[λούς] / τῶν* μὲν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων / ἄρχε (introducing an encomiastic catalogue of Argive heroes, with Polycrates compared, very different from what follows here).

16 οἱ δὲ τότε βλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παραθ[-υυ --. Completion depends on whether *παρα* is taken alone or as part of a compound, and in the former case, with what follows or as postpositive: e.g. *ὁδοῦ πάρα θ[υμὸν ὄλεσσα*. But it is equally attractive to take *ὁδοῦ* with *βλαφθέντες* in the sense 'hindered, blocked from/on their journey' (i.e. to Troy) as at *Od.* 1.195 *θεοὶ βλάπτουσι κελεύθου* (cf. *Il.* 15.489 *βλαφθέντα βέλεμνα*, 647 *τῆ ὄ γ' ἐνὶ βλαφθεῖς πέσειν ὕπτιος*), then *παρὰ . . . + verb* in tmesis. Alternatively we could have *παρὰ* with *θ[ἴν(α)*, e.g. *θ[ἴν'* (R. Janko) *ἀφίκοντο* or *ἐπέβησαν* or *ἀνέβησαν*. Likewise: *θ[ἴν'* ἀλάγητο ('wander, roam about like a beggar' (LS) s.v.; plpf. Eur. *Andr.* 306 in lyrics, of the army around Troy), and *θ[ἴν'* ἐπαλώντο (*Od.* 4.81, 15.401, 'wander about or over') seem worthy of consideration. In any case, a verb is essential (thus not *θ[ἴνα θαλάσσης*).

16-21 The Argives, we are told, had in fact lost their way en route to Troy. At first they ?wandered by the sea shore, then sallied forth, 'breathing fury' across Mysian land in search of Troy. We seem to have a recapitulation of the story from the beginning, this time stressing the military ambitions of the Argives, presumably leading to the reversal subsequently suffered by Telephus.

According to the standard version (e.g. *Cypria* fr. 20 Bernabé, Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17), Telephus, when he faced Achilles, did not stand his ground, but turned and fled. Can Archilochus have deviated? Of all versions, only Dictys does not represent Telephus as fleeing from Achilles when he is wounded: e.g. *Cypria* fr. 20 (I, cf. II) Bernabé *ὀρμήσαντος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλέως οὐ μείνας ἐδιώκετο· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρέχειν ἐμπλακεῖς ἀμπέλου κλήματι τὸν μηρὸν τιτρώσκειται, νεμεσῆσαντος αὐτῷ Διόνυσου, ὅτι ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτου τῶν τιμῶν ἀφήρητο*; schol. Lycophr. 206, 211; Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17 *ὀρμήσαντος δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐ μείνας ἐδιώκετο*; and implied by Philostr. *Her.* 23.24; cf. Dictys 2.3. II 214 1 (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, *Epica Adespota* 3 'Telephi epyllium' pp. 76-8) adverts to the vine-shoot over which Dionysus made Telephus stumble while fleeing from Achilles (ἐ]ξαπίνης ἐπέδησεν ἀνωίστρο[ις κλάδοισιν), a familiar Dionysiac motif (epiphany and wine-miracle), also mentioned or alluded to by the other versions (cited above, cf. Pi. *I.* 8.49 *Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν*). Apollod. *Bibl. Epit.* 3.17, Philostr. *Her.*, and Dictys rationalistically omit explicit mention of Dionysus; Philostratus does not mention the vine-shoot, but his narrator is a vine-dresser, ἀμπελοουργός, named Μάρων. No reference to the vine-shoot (variously called κλήμα, ἔλιξ ἀμπέλου, *trunco vitis*) is preserved here. Was it mentioned in 24 ff, or may it simply have been assumed in the description at 18-21 as part of the event, just as there is no mention of Telephus' slaying of Thersander in 5-12? An Attic red-figure calyx crater (St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 1843 = St. 1275 = *ARV*² 23.5, c.510 BC) shows that Dionysus was present at the scene of the battle from early times (C. Bauchhens-

Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 3 (Würzburg 1971) 16–18 with Taf. 1; LIMC Diomedes VB p. 389, cf. Telephos H p. 866). The appearance of Dionysus in these versions may be taken to show that Telephus' reversal of fortune was divinely caused, and thus no diminution of his heroic stature, but rather the work of fate (cf. 2 n., 7 n., 24 n.). For a possible explicit appearance of a divinity see 22 n.

The narrator of Philostratus' *Heroicus* says (13.4–14.1, 23.1, 23.24) that Telephus lost his shield in the battle (to Protesilaus); it also figures in the account of Dares Phrygius (16: given up to protect Teuthras). If this were due (as in the other accounts above) to a theophany of Dionysus in the form of a vine-shoot, it would have an obvious parallel with Archil. fr. 5, in which the poet says he lost his shield by a bush, not of his own volition (2–3 *παρὰ θάμνωι . . . κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων*). Cf. Paus. 4.16.4–5 (Aristomenes). That Archilochus had narrated the losing of a shield in more than one poem was suggested by A. Kerkhecker, 'Archilochus fr. 139 West: Another *ρίψασπις* Poem?', *ZPE* 111 (1996) 26. Cf. also Adesp. iamb. 38.8–9.

17 *Τε]ύθραντος . . . πόλιν*: i.e. the Mysian capital.

ἐρατὴν πρὸς πόλιν. In the Homeric poems *ἐρατός* only at *Il.* 3.64 (*δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης*); otherwise they have *ἐρατεινός* in this sense (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 970 *ἐρατῆι φιλότητι*; *h. Merc.* 153, 426; *h. Apoll.* 477). In Archil.: fr. 1.2 *καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος* (cf. XXX 2507 10) and (of a place, as here) in fr. 22.2 (of Thasos) *χώρος . . . οὐδ' ἐρατός*; Mimn. fr. 9.3 *ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα*; Simonides *IEG* 11.40 *Ἐλευσίνος γῆς ἐ]ρατὸν πεδίου*; *PMG* Adesp. 922.14 *γὰν ἐρατάν*; cf. *Od.* 11.275 *Θήβηι πολυηράτωι*, Solon fr. 4.21 *πολυήρατον ἄστν*; ubiquitous in lyric (Sappho fr. 16.17 of her beloved's *βάμα*) and in elegy: Thgn. 242, 569, 778, 1044, 1131, 1348; Mimn. fr. 9.3, Solon fr. 25.1; Tyrnt. fr. 10.28, 29; Simonides *IEG* 27.5 *π]αῖδ' ἐρατόν*.

πόλιν [. . .] [- ~ ~ - : e.g. [δ]ρ[νύμενοι] or [δ]ρ[μέατο]? [ἐ]ρ[χόμενοι]? Or [ἐ]ξ[έπειον] (M. L. West)?

18 *ἐ]νθα* (R. Janko). Line-initial at *Od.* 22.203; i.e. they arrived at the city of Teuthras (17), where, despite (18 *ὄμως*) their valorous ardour, they ended up in great distress of spirit (19 *ἀκηχε]*).

μ]έγρος πνεύοντες. In the Homeric poems with *μένος* singular only at *Od.* 22.203 (also Q. S. 13.80; Rhianus *CA* 36.1 *μένος πνεύοντες Ἀμύνται*); but in the *Iliad* the plural (*μένεα πνεύοντες*) exclusively appears, and the continuation *Ἀχαιοί* is preferred (3.8, 11.508, 24.364, cf. 2.536, all at line-end). Cf. Tyrnt. fr. 10.24 *θυμὸν ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίηι*; still different is Archil. fr. 196a.52 *ἀφήκα μένος*; cf. in tetrameters fr. 98.16 *μ]έγαν δ' ἔθεντο θυμὸν ἀμφε]*.

ὄμως. ὄμως? ('nevertheless', with 18 [*πνεύοντες*], i.e. 'in spite of their valorous spirit'; Archil. fr. 89.16 *ἀλλ' ὄμως θανον]*, or *ὄμῶς?* ('equally', with a following verb).

αὐτο][- ~ ~ -]. Forms of the pronoun are hard to accommodate. Unless we assume *αὐτο]*[*ί* ('against them', se. the Argives, but the expression *πνεύω μένος/-εα* never takes an indirect object in this way), we will be left with *αὐτοί* ('the Argives themselves', i.e. in addition to and as a match for the defending Mysians in 5–12?) and supplying an additional object completing the line, e.g. *καὶ Ἄρηα* (a difficult double conception: cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 376 *Ἄρη πνεύόντων*, parodied by Aristoph. *Ra.* 1016 *πνέοντες δόρυ καὶ λόγχας*) or an additional subject (*αὐτο]*[*ί* *τε καὶ ἵπποι*; cf. Aesch. *Sepi.* 393). Professor Parsons attractively suggests *αὐτο]*[*χ*εδόν (of hand to hand fighting), after which we would need a verb (of motion? *ἦλθον*? cf. Tyrnt. fr. 11.12 *αὐτοσχεδίηι . . . ἰέναι*) governing the *ἐνθα* clause.

19 1–2] . . .]ηι: *ἀ]μ[πλακί]ηι?* Thgn. 204, 386, 404, 546, 630, 632?, 810; Pi. *O.* 7.24, *P.* 2.30, *I.* 6.29; cf. *P.* 11.26. The orthography of Archil. fr. 127 *ἡμβλακον* (cf. *Il.* 9.116 with Clem. Alex.) could be held against this, but genre might determine the difference. However, the descender below the line requires φ or ψ: thus *ἀ]φρ[αδί]ηι* (Hes. *Op.* 134).

μεγάλως θυμόν. Cf. Hes. fr. 165.12 M.–W. *Δαρδαν]ιδῶν μεγαθύμων*.

ἀκη. [. . .] [- ~ ~ - : *ἀκηχέ]δατο?* (*Il.* 17.637 *ἀκηχέδατ'*, with v.l. *ἀκηχέατ'*) or *ἀκηχέ]μενοι?* After *ακη* the writing shifts slightly to the right at a rough patch on the kollesis (compare the spacing below in 22 *-κάρδιον*), then a trace compatible with x, followed by the lower left corner of a round letter. The verb here seems to reiterate the idea of 10 *μυρρόμεγοι*, and then the action continues from that point. A framing device?

20 φ]αντο γάρ? (M. L. West), in the sense 'thought' (LSJ 1b). Particles are not listed among conjunctions by West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (cf. pp. 102–3, 112). *τε* occurs in Archilochus' elegiacs in fr. 17 (*πάντα πόνος τεύχει θνητοῖς μελέτη τε βροτείη*). *ῥος τε* is conjectured for Archilochus by West in the iambic fr. 43.2 (index s.v. *τε*

'epicum'). γάρ occurs no less than six times in Archilochus' elegiacs (and even more frequently in his other metres): fr. 3.4, 4.8, 10.4, 11.1 (οὐτέ τι γάρ), 13.3 (τοίους γάρ), 5 (ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γάρ). Cf. γάρ τε (Thgn. 281).

ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν. Of Troy: *Il.* 16.698 = 21.544 ὑψίπυλον Τροίην; Ibycus *PMGF* S151.14 Τρο]ίας θ' ὑψιπύλοιο; of Thebes: *Il.* 6.416. As in the *Cypria*, the Argives labour under the mistaken impression that Mysia is Troy. Pausanias 1.4.6: among the great achievements of the Pergamenes is τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφου τόλμημα ('Telephus' 'exploit') ὅτε Ἕλληνες ἀμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδίον ἐλεγάτουν τὸ Μήιον ὡς γῆν Τρωιάδα.

εἰς[~ ~ --: εἰς[αφικέσθαι? (*Il.* 22.17 Ἰλιον εἰσαφικέσθαι). εἰς[αναβαίνειν lacks the hostile sense required here (though cf. *Il.* 10.493 of trampling on corpses).

21 κα]λλε[φ]υῆν δ' (Nonn. *D.* 5.198, 15.171, 16.76)?

ἐπάτευν. Cf. Eurip. fr. 696.16 N² = K. (H. Maehler). Archilochus probably wrote ἐπάτεον, but ἐπάτευν is the 6th–4th century BC spelling (R. Janko): cf. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 80–1. πατέω in the sense 'frequent', 'inhabit' is not found before the fifth century, though common enough later: cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1060 χαίρε τὴν Λήμνον πατῶν, Lyc. 200, Isid. Epigr. 4.3, Theocr. 18.20 with Gow ad loc., who suggests the meaning 'exists on earth' rather than 'lives in this country'; metaphorically ('trample', 'tread under foot') already at *Il.* 4.157 κατὰ δ' ὄρκια πιετὰ πάτησαν. Cf. Pi. *O.* 1.115 εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑμοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν ('traverse', 'plant one's feet on'); *P.* 2.85 ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς κκολιαῖς ('pace'); Schol. *PMG* 909.4 τούτωι πατέω τὸν ἄδὺν οἶνον ἀπ' ἀμπέλων; in tetrameters: Ananius (6th c. BC) fr. 5.4 δέλφακος δ' ὅταν τραπέωσιν καὶ πατέωσιν ἐσθίειν, 'a pig is good to eat at the season when they tread the grapes'.

πυροφόρο[ν: 'wheat-bearing', 'fertile'. Of Mysia before the battle similarly Hes. fr. 165.16 χθονὶ βω[τιανείρηι, but cf. Pi. *I.* 8.49–50 Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν . . . πεδίον (after Telephus has been punished by Dionysus and wounded by Achilles). Of land: Solon fr. 13.20 (γῆν ἀτά πυροφόρον), fr. 24.2 (γῆς πυροφόρου πεδιά); Pi. *I.* 4.54 (Λιβύα); *Il.* 12.314, 14.123 (ἄρουραι); *Il.* 21.602, Thgn. 988, Eur. *Phoen.* 644 (πεδίον).

On this basis a reconstruction such as the following for 16–21 might be hazarded:

ο]ἰ δὲ τότε βλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παρὰ θ[ῖν' ἀφίκοντο.
 Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἔρατῆν πρὸς πόλιν [δ]ρ[νύμειοι,
 ε]νθα [μ]ένος πνεῖοντες ὄμωσ αὐτο[ί τε καὶ ἵπποι
 ἀ]φρ[αδί]ηι μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκηχέ[δατο.
 20 φ]άντο γὰρ ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰς[αναβαίνειν,
 κα]λλε[φ]υῆν δ' ἐπάτευν Μυσιδα πυροφόρο[ν.

'On that occasion, because they had lost their way, they arrived at the sea shore. And they rushed toward the lovely city of Teuthras, where, snorting fury along with their horses, they themselves had to retreat in great distress of spirit. For they thought they were approaching the high-gated city of Troy, but they had their feet on the wheat-bearing soil of Mysia, land of fair growth.'

22 Someone shouts (something?) out: Achilles' war-cry? Heracles' exhortation to his son? Telephus crying out in pain or prayer? Then suddenly mention of a father in 25, where πατρὶ χαριζόμε[ενος might describe e.g. Telephus having or endeavouring to live up to his divine ancestry.

βοῶν: the subject must be the person (or god?) who encounters the 'brave [son]' in or before the pitched battle in 23 (δητῶι ἐν [πολ]έμ[ωι). In theory this could be any of the heroes: cf. *Il.* 13.123 Ἔκτωρ . . . βοῶν ἀγαθός ('of the great war-cry'), but also often e.g. of Nestor. But one suspects the presence of Heracles or Achilles here. The first preserved trace suggests ε: thus perhaps 22:

Ἡρακλ]έης ἀνὰ τῆλ[ε] βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον [υἱόν

'Heracles, shouting out from afar to his stout-hearted son' (or δ' ἦν τῆς[ε] βοῶν, M. L. West), i.e. exhorting Telephus to face Achilles in battle or warning him to flee after the loss of his shield? ἀναβοῶν (the compound standard in such descriptions: see below) cannot otherwise be accommodated to the hexameter. Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i 145 n. 4, notes that 'the tmesis is surprisingly frequent in Archilochus'; in elegiacs alone: fr. 3.1, 13.3,

6. A name is expected at the beginning of 22 or 23. Those of Dionysus or Achilles cannot be made to fit the traces in 22 (and Dionysus, in the standard account, makes his appearance in the form of the vine-shoot).

βοῶν: Achilles' war-cry? He might have shouted out when he encountered Telephus in battle: so Achilles, in concert with Athena, shouts as he returns to battle after the death of Patroclus at *Il.* 18.217–18 ἔνθα εἰτὰς ἦνε, ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη / φθέγγεατ'; cf. Odysseus before the house of Circe at *Od.* 10.311 ἔνθα εἰτὰς ἐβόησα; Aristophanes' Lamachus (who returns without his shield, a comic stand-in for both Achilles and Telephus) says he heard a βοή πολεμιστηρία (*Acharn.* 572). Or an auditory epiphany of a god? cf. Heracles' voice at the end of Philoctetes (1449 φθέγμα); Eur. *Bacch.* 1079 Διόνυκος ἀνεβόησεν: "ὦ νεάνιδες", etc. Appearances of divinities occur elsewhere in Archilochus, at least twice on the battle-field: fr. 94 (epiphany of Athena fighting Ἴλαος παρασταθεῖσα, 'propitiously by their side'); 95.4 (Sosthenes inscription) πῆ μ' ἔσωσ' Ἑρμ[ῆς] (T. Zieliński, *Raccolta . . . Ramorino* (Milano 1927) 605, comparing Hor. *C.* 2.7.13). According to the sculptural remains, both Heracles and Dionysus appeared in the battle between Achilles and Telephus which Paus. 8.45.7 says formed the centre-piece of the west pediment of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (395–4 BC): see Bauchhenss-Thüricld 37–8; according to J. Boardman et al., *Griechische Kunst* (Munich 1966) 177, the two deities were ranged behind Achilles and Telephus respectively.

τη. [...] βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον. For the alliteration see on 4 φυγεῖν φευγ[. The articulation is hardly certain: τηλεβοῶν would be an impossible compound, although there is no lack of compounds with τηλε- in epic (cf. LSJ s.v. τηλεβόας). Τηλ[ε]βοῶν could be tried (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3.5), but the mythical 'Teleboeans' have no relevance here. τῆλε = τηλοῦ, τηλόθεν, τηλόθι is common enough. If τῆλ[ε] βοῶν is correct, we would have a play, underscored by alliteration, on Telephus' name of the *figura etymologica* variety. According to Dictys 2.3, Achilles wounded Telephus with his spear-throw after spying him, tangled in the vine-shoot, from a distance (*procul animaduerti*), which could be related to τῆλ[ε] here. This might lend support for the editors of *SH* against J. Lightfoot (*Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999) 197–8) in seeing a *figura etymologica* in Parthenius' reference (fr. 38 Lightfoot = *SH* 650) to Telephus by the epithet ἀργειφόνητος, deriving it (following Aristarchus) from (ἐν)αργής, and Τήλεφος < τηλεφανής, 'seen from a distance' (either by Teuthras in Mysia, or by the Argives when they mistook Mysia for the Troad, or because of T.'s good looks), in contrast to the far more widely-known derivation of T.'s name from θηλή and ἔλαφος. For etymological elements in Archilochus, see fr. 26: Ἀπολλω < ἀπόλλυμι (an etymology cited from Archilochus already by Apollod. Athen. *FGrHist* 244 F 95.10; Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* i 62 n. 1, cf. 14). However, Philostratus (*Her.* 23.24) implies that Achilles jumped on him as Protesilaus seized his shield: τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα γυμνώι προσπερόντα τρώσαι αὐτὸν εὐθὺ τοῦ μηροῦ; cf. Ovid *Met.* 13.171–2 *Telephon hasta / pugnantem domui*, which suggests close combat; still different is *Cyprica* fr. 20 (II) Bernabé (Eust. in *Il.* p. 46.36) πέπονθε μὲν τραῦμα δεινὸν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλεῖος ἀμπέλου ἔλικι κυμποδικθέντος αὐτῶι τοῦ ἵππου κατὰ Διονύσου πρόνοιαν καὶ περόντος εἰς γῆν.

ταλ[α]κάρδιον: 'of enduring heart'. Of Heracles at line-end: *Scut.* 424 (quoted below). ταλακάρδιος is not Homeric: Bacchyl. fr. 62(a).3 (context mostly lost); of Oedipus: Soph. *OC* 540 ('miserable'); *FGE* 'Simonides' XL(b).1 ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι. 'The compound is very rare' (Page).

[υῖόν. *Scut.* 424 Διὸς ταλακάρδιος υῖός (= Heracles). For accusative with βοάω see LSJ s.v. II.2; Pi. *P.* 6.32–6 of Nestor, his chariot entangled with his horse (32 ἄρμ' ἐπέδα) calling out to his son Antilochus (36): βόασε παῖδα ὄν (H. Pelliccia). The completion [ἦρω might be considered (but we expect the uncontracted accusative ἦρωα as in epic?).

23 . . .]ρον: A summary or direct quotation of what is shouted out in 22? e.g. χεῖ]ρον? οἰ]ρον (M. L. West)? Or ἄκ]ρον (W. Burkert)? Then ἀμ[ε]λικ[τον, as in 11 (M. L. West).

δηῖωι ἐν [πολ]έμωι. *Il.* 5.117; at end of pentameter: Týrt. fr. 11.18 ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δηῖωι ἐν πολέμωι. For δηῖωι cf. 4 n.; Archil. fr. 58.7, 89.3 δηῖων; 139.5 δηῖοισεμ[.

24 ο. . . . οῖαι: Perhaps ὅς Δαγαοῖαι (R. Janko). Reading ὄρκοις τοῖαι, 'with/for oaths against them' (the additional letter ι allowed by space, but just) would be a violation of Hilberg's law, having word-end after a contracted second biceps (so also Archil. fr. 2.1, but there it is a monosyllabic appositive: cf. West, *GM* 26). Dr Holford-Strevens suggests ὄρκοτόμοιαι, which is palaeographically attractive, though an *addendum lexicis*, and of irregular formation, since the idiom is ὄρκα τέμνω = ὄρκιοτομέω (Schol. *Il.* 19.197), with presumed adjustment to fit the metre (cf. Timocr. *PMG* 729.2 ὄρκιοτομ-, Poll. 1.39 ὄρκιοτομ-)—leaving the choice between the awkward rhythm

or the malformed word. *ὄρκ-* is strongly suggested by the traces. Could the reference be to Agamemnon's oaths (?accompanying his sacrifices to Dionysus described by Lycophr. 206–15 with schol.), now rewarded by the god? Or did Telephus utter oaths that would prevent the Argives from sailing successfully to Troy without Telephus as a guide? Neither of these is attested, but the theme of the breaking of oaths and oaths against one's enemies resonates elsewhere in Archilochus' verses.

Ending: *κακὴν [ἐ]π[εμήσατο μοῖραν?* (R. Janko; cf. *Od.* 4.437 *δόλον ἐπεμήδετο πατρί*) sc. Dionysus?, i.e. continuing the theme of 2 *θεοῦ κρατερῆ[ς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης* and 7 *μοῖρα θεῶν?* (cf. Archil. fr. 16). Or *[τό]τ[ε φύζαν ἐνόρσας?* (M. L. West).

25 *ῆ]ρειδε[ν μο]ῦνος?* (M. L. West; cf. on 5, 'ring composition').

πατρί: Telephus' father Heracles (rather than his adoptive father Teuthras).

χαριζ. . . [~ - : *χαριζόμε[εν-* suits the traces and seems very likely, perhaps *χαριζόμε[ενον* or, if Telephus is now the subject, *-όμ[ενος*; Archil. fr. 6 *ξείνια δυσμενέων λυγρὰ χαριζόμενοι*; Hes. *Theog.* 580 *χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί.*

28 *]θα.* [: *θαλ[* and *θαν[εῖν, θαν[ατ-, ἀθαν[ατ-* and much else could be thought of in the context. An immortal parent? One of the immortals: Dionysus?

Fr. 2–8

Placement relative to fr. 1, VI 854, and XXX 2507 is uncertain, being dependent on the extent (unknown) of the accounts on the front. Fr. 3 could be ranged vertically beneath fr. 2, both containing line-ends and line-beginnings of two successive columns; fr. 4 could be ranged beneath these as line-ends of col. i of fr. 2–3 (fr. 3 and 4 have distinctly smaller writing at line-ends than does fr. 2). This much is consistent with the fibre-patterns and remains of the accounts on the fronts, although not proven by them. Fr. 8 and fr. 6–7 could be ranged horizontally as line-beginnings and middle parts of the same lines, or of the line-ends in fr. 2, though neither of these two possibilities is particularly supported by the accounts and horizontal fibres on the fronts.

Regular alternation of long and short lines points to elegiacs. This seems likely for fr. 2, possible for fr. 3, but fr. 4 or 5 are hardly a large enough sample to establish regularity. In careful copies (like the Hawara Homer, more regular than the present hand) consecutive hexameters may show final variation of at least six letters, so due caution is in order.

Recoverable here and there are elements that concern sea-faring. Assuming relative proximity of fr. 2–8 to each other (arguable for fr. 2–5, less certain in 6–8), a narrative could be constructed around the fantasy of a shipwreck: references to 'running aground', 'shelter', 'courage' (or 'strength' or 'virtue'), 'cowardice' (or 'disaster'), together with mentions of Poseidon, 'darkness' (of death or the unknown), and 'bleached bones'. Among other contexts, these might fit Archilochus' elegy on the drowned Parians (fr. 8–12, cf. 13 — possibly the poem alluded to by Longinus 10.7 *οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυαγίου*, though this is not certain; the iambic fr. 21 *ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις*, 212 *ἔστη κατ' ἠκὴν κύματός τε κἀνέμου*, and Tzetzes *Alleg. Hom.* Ω 125 ff in quoting fr. 215 show that Archilochus treated crisis at sea, and this particular disaster, in more than one poem and genre). However that may be, the story of the Mysian battle recounted in fr. 1 is also framed at the beginning and end by misadventures at sea (*Cypria* arg. Procl. *Chrest.* 80, fr. 20 Bernabé), so it cannot be excluded that fr. 2–8 belong to the same narrative context as fr. 1 (cf. fr. 2 i 3).

Fr. 2, col. i

Elegiacs (alternating uneven line-ends).

1 *ἔξοκ[. ἐξοκέλλω* would be at home in the elegy on the drowned Parians (Archil. fr. 10–12), but could also be metaphorical: see e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 438, *Ag.* 666. Either scense would suit an account of the Mysian battle. *ο* suits the trace somewhat better than *ω*, but unaugmented forms are impossible in elegiacs. Perhaps thus *ἔξοκ[εἶλας* or *-εἶλαν*, producing a spondaic fifth foot. In this case *ἔξω, ἔξ, ὦκ[α τελέσας* are other possibilities.

2 *]ε:* compatible with pentameter-end at Adesp. eleg. 21 *Ζεὺς πάντων αὐτὸς φάρμακα μῶνος ἔχει.*

3 *κέπαρν[ον?* (M. L. West; cf. *Od.* 9.391), or *κέπα ῥ[πῆς?* *Od.* 5.443 = 7.282 = 12.336 *ἐπὶ κέπας ἦν ἀνέμοιο;* 6.210 *ἐπὶ κέπας ἔστ' ἀνέμοιο.* The letter following *κεπα*, however, cannot be *ς*, and the trace distinctly suggests *ρ*. For *κέπα:* Hes. *Op.* 532 *οἱ κέπα μαιόμενοι πυκινὸς κευθμῶνας ἔχουσι.* Ancient commentators and grammarians

ians held it to be ‘in the poets’ a poetic accusative in apocopc. For ῥί[πιής, ‘spear-throw’ (sc. Ἀχιλλῆος?) see e.g. *Il.* 12.462 = *Od.* 8.192 ὑπὸ ῥιπιής.

4] πατήρ. That this is the same father as in fr. 1.25 (cf. 22) is hardly a necessary conclusion. Archilochus (fr. 11) named his sister’s husband as among the dead in the elegy on the drowned Parians (see fr. 9, 11, cf. 215).

5] ομνονος . . . [: also resolvable as -ομένονος . . . [, but this would require a monosyllabic word at line-end, and the obvious possibilities like τε and ὤσ do not fit the traces. θῆ or θῆγ ?

6–7] . ἀρετῆι / . . . κ[α]κότητος. Before ἀρετῆι perhaps -ω]ν? A martial context? ἀρετῆι at end of pentameter: *Adesp.* eleg. 27.4 γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῆι (context symposiastic); cf. *Tyrt.* fr. 11.14 τρεσσάντων δ’ ἀνδρῶν πᾶς’ ἀπόλωλ’ ἀρετῆ. Or bravery/cowardice in crisis at sea? For κ[α]κότητος see fr. 1.3 with n. (*δηϊοτήτος* here ruled out by the traces).

Fr. 3 col. i

Elegiacs? (uneven line-ends in 2–3, cf. 6). The ends of 1 and 2 both show spondaic shapes at line-end (shortening of αι by corruption could be considered, but the end of 1 is equidistant with that of the hexameter in 2, and αι in adjectives in -αιος in epic is regularly treated as long). If so, a pentameter has dropped, not unparallelled in transmission of elegiacs (see LXVI 4503 front fr. 2 7b–8b with n.). The writing in fr. 3 is distinctly smaller than in fr. 1–2 and 6–8. Marginal scholia might be suspected, but the same diminution in size of writing also appears in fr. 4–5, which show the tell-tale uneven line-ends of elegiac verses. The circumflex accent in fr. 3 i 3, a short line (pentameter) suggests that we have verses here.

1] ?ἐννοσι]χάιου: sc. Poseidon (who, according to one ancient etymology, ever ‘washes the earth/shore’ with his waves). He got at least one mention in the elegy on the drowned Parians: Archil. fr. 12 †κρύπτομεν† ἀνιηρά Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος / δῶρα. Cf. the epodic fr. 192 πεντήκοντ’ ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἵππιος Ποσειδέων.

2] . . . μεν. Traces suggest]χαμεν. A first-person verb? Exhortation? (cf. fr. 1.4 n.). Other possible articulations are -χα μὲν or -χα μ’ ἐν.

ὄρφνη]ι. Metaphorical, of death? (*Eur. Her.* 46, 352). Of the obscurity of the god’s ends: *Thgn.* 1077 ὄρφνη γὰρ τέταται. Of the darkness of night: *Eur. Rhés.* 42, 587, 678, 697, etc.; with verb of motion (+ ἐν) + dat.: *Pi. O.* 1.71 ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἀλόος οἶος ἐν ὄρφνη, *ibid.* 13.70; *Quint.* 13.325–6 πολλὰ δ’ ἐν ὄρφνηι / οὐκ ἐθέλων στείβεσκε. Not in the Homeric poems (which have ὄρφναῖος).

6 Although the surface survives (where we expect the longer hexameter ending), it is possibly stripped of ink here.

Fr. 3 col. ii

6–8 In margin, *coronis*: same shape as in fr. 6 and VI 854 (see introd. above).

Fr. 4

Elegiacs (alternating uneven line-ends).

3 ὄφρ’ ἔτι πασα[] / + verb? (for the enjambment with this position of the verb in the pentameter in Archilochus’ elegiacs see fr. 3.2, 11.2, 13.4, 8, 10). ὄφρα in the sense of *ut*: Archil. fr. 106.4; in the sense of *dum*: 7× *Thgn.*; 1× *Mimn.* *Simonides Tyrt.* *Xenoph.*

Fr. 5

Elegiacs? (uneven line-ends? no trace of intervening line, but spacing is consistent with lineation in fr. 1–4 assuming we have line ends of hexameters, beyond the point where ends of the pentameters would be visible). Only this fragment (out of the 10, including VI 854 and XXX 2507) shows no writing on the front, perhaps fortuitously (top or bottom margin, intercolumnium, or other blank space in the formatting of the accounts?).

Fr. 6

Status as verses and position in line are uncertain; not middles of verses. 9 δ]στεα λε[υκά could end a hexameter, but there may be the end of a *paragraphus* after 3, in which case we would have near-beginnings of lines (cf. 11 n.).

9 ὀ]στέα λε[υκά. Although other articulations are possible, the most promising suggests ὀ]στέα λε[υκά (commonly of human remains, both with and without funeral rites). Of the bleached bones of the dead lost at sea and washed up on the mainland: *Od.* 1.161 ἀνέρος οὐδὲ δῆ που λεύκ' ὀστέα πύθεται ὄμβρωι / κείμεν' ἐπ' ἠπείρου. At line-end *Il.* 16.347, 23.252 κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροιο ἐνηέος ὀστέα λευκά, Hes. *Theog.* 540, 555, 557, Emped. fr. 96.19 D.-K. τὰ δ' ὀστέα λευκά γέγοντο. Archil. fr. 193.3 πεπαρμένος δι' ὀστέων shows a different context (cf. fr. 196).

10]'ζ. Apparently a variant entered suprascript; it is difficult to be certain that the original letter (ι? ο?) was not cancelled, but there is no sign of this.

11 could be read as Archil. fr. 16 W. πάντ]α τύχη κ[αὶ μοῖρα, Περικλεες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν.

Fr. 7

Position in line, verscs uncertain. This fragment could be aligned horizontally so as to form parts of the same lines as those of fr. 6. However, this is not obviously confirmed by the accounts and horizontal fibres on the fronts, whether fr. 7 is placed on the left or right of fr. 6 (see also above on fr. 2-8).

Fr. 8

Line-beginnings. No way to confirm elegiacs.

1-4 In margin, *coronis*: same shape as in fr. 3 col. ii and VI 854 (see introd. above); *paragraphus* in centre after 1 (as in fr. 3 col. ii and VI 854). Large dot in margin is more likely a blob on the hooked end of *coronis* than a stichometric point, which would be expected against and not between the levels of the lines.

1 ε[. Excipit; if elegiacs, a pentameter. The trace apparently excludes Archil. fr. 5.4 ἐρρέτω, and any other pentameter of Archilochus or Adesp. eleg. that could end a sentence.

2 ω[. Incipit. ω? cf. Archil. fr. 13.6 ὦ φίλ'.

5 εῦ[or εῖ[or ἐχ[.

5-6 In the margin, apparently the same top hook (over left and back down) of a *coronis* as appears in fr. 3 ii 6-8 and symmetrically (hook under right and back up) in the bottom halves of the *coronides* above at 1-4 and in VI 854 1-4. To judge from the height of the top half of the *coronis* preserved in fr. 3 ii 6-8 (and similarly the bottom halves of the *coronides* at 1-4 above and VI 854 1-4) and the level of the top of the second *coronis* here, the centre of this second, partially preserved *coronis* (where it will presumably have coincided with a *paragraphus* as at 1-2 above and VI 854 1-2) would have fallen after the first line after v. 6, thus making a poem of six lines. Assuming elegiacs, a poem of three distichs contrasts markedly with the length of the poem preserved only in part in fr. 1.

D. OBBINK

4709. LYRIC VERSES IN 'DORIC'

15 2B.37/A(d)

8 × 7.7 cm

Second century
Plate I

A scrap with remains of two columns, written along the fibres. Tantalizing hints of the Trojan war: col. i, Pyliaus (or Nestor), possible reference to Odysseus (3), ditches; col. ii: the son(s) of Atreus, Pyliaus again, Eurybates (who may be speaking), sea, ships. Style and structure remain uncertain; direct speech may be present in both columns (see below on i 10, ii 6). Dialect and diction do not exclude an attribution to Stesichorus, whose fragments have surfaced before from Oxyrhynchus, e.g., XXXII 2619 + XXXVII 2803, *Iliou Persis*, and XXIII 2360, *Nostoi* (but the scansion of this fragment does not seem to match the metrical scheme of any of the known fragments of Stesichorus). If some episode from the war's aftermath is to be looked for here, Pyliaus at i 1 and ii 3 bring to mind Telemachus' visit

there in *Od.* 3, when Nestor recounts, in the course of his narrative, the end of the war and the Atreidai's disagreement over when to set sail. In Stesichorus 209 *PMGF*, Helen speaks to Telemachus in a scene reminiscent of *Od.* 15.164 ff.

Parts of the upper margin are preserved (at least 2.4 cm deep). The width of the column is not known; the shortest distance between the two columns comes at line 8 (1.1 cm). Vowel quantity is marked at i 6 (Doric alpha), but no other signs (cf. the practice in **2619**, Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis*). Iota adscript is written at ii 6. Deletion by oblique stroke at ii 7, perhaps with correction entered above the line.

The hand is informal, round, upright with occasional serifs, similar to the second script of Pindar's *Paeans* at Roberts, *GLH* 14, dated to about the middle of the second century.

The back is blank.

Col. i

]πυλιο.
].χναν
].υκροτον
]
5].αμφω
].οκλᾶν
]. . . . [. .]αρα
]παρτ . . . ωνορυκταν
]
10]τωνδεμυθων
]

Col. ii

επειατρει . [
συνπαιδι . [
πυλιων [
λαγων . . [
ευρυβατας [
φωναιδε . [
γαρ[[τ]]ελαο [
τεκαιανιο [
εκτοςθεν [
πελαγοσκ . [
ναεστεμο [
 [

Col. i 1 After ο, a stroke in the shape of U with a hook hanging down from its right tip, pointing rightwards 2],, high horizontal trace (could be cap of ε) 3],, speck 5],, end of a horizontal at the right level for the bar of π, but curving downwards; perhaps the serif on the right arm of γ 6],, high trace, then long shallow curve at line-level, as of μ 7], . . .], feet of four letters, the middle two in the shape of a very gentle λ, λλ, etc. The right slope of the last λ is drawn out 8 τ . . . , second, low descender; then, enough space for a very narrow letter, e.g. ρ (there is a speck of ink to the right of the lower tip of the descender, but it is too low to be part of a letter)

Col. ii 1],, foot of α or λ 2],, tall upright 4],, letter feet, a short upright, then a tiny circle 5 ζ], the lower arc is missing, but η is excluded 6],, beginning of a horizontal at the right level for the bar of π, τ, etc. 7 [[τ]], τ is crossed by an oblique; above it and towards the left, a very short horizontal (perhaps a serif?), then a hole 9 there is a horizontal tear in the papyrus to the left of the line 10],, ink speck on the line 11], . . .], the papyrus breaks off here; four apices: first a tiny loop, perhaps α or the right part of μ; then, tip of a diagonal rising towards the right, followed by a diagonal falling towards the right.

The second and third traces almost touch at their highest points. The fourth trace is like the second, but even less of it. Then the end of a horizontal, running into a baseless triangle, ελ or εμ.

Col. i 1 Πυλίοις is easier palaeographically than Πυλίοιο. Either a mention of the Pylians as a group, or a specific reference to Nestor (cf. *Il.* 1.248, 4.293, *Soph. Phil.* 422, *Call. Aet.* fr. 82.3). In the *Iliad*, the Pylians, besides fighting under Antilochos (17.704), feature in Nestor's remembrance of his youth (7.133 ff., 11.669 ff., 23.629 ff.). There were also stories of Pylos without Nestor. Melampous drove the cattle of Phylakos to Pylos for Neleus (*Od.* 15.235f.) and Heracles attacked Pylos killing Neleus and all his sons except Nestor (*Il.* 5.392, 11.690; Panyassis, F6^A *EGF*; *Apoll. Bibl.* ii 7.3, *Paus.* vi 25.2, *Ovid Met.* 12.549 ff.).

2 Presumably τ]εχναν rather than e.g. λαχναν or ἀραχναν; cf. next note.

3 πο]λύκροτον: probably 'clever' rather than 'ringing loud'. The adjective is applied to Odysseus (*Hes.* fr. 198.3 M-W; schol. *Ar. Nub.* 260 and *Eust.* on *Od.* 1.1); cf. *Call. Aet.* fr. 67.3 αὐτὸς Ἔρωσ ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον . . . τέχνην—οὐ γὰρ ὄγ' ἔσκε πολύκροτος.

5] . ἄμφω, or] παμφω][ν-. The adjective πάμφωνος is not found in Homer; it is often used by Pindar to describe musical sounds; cf. *I.* 5.26 ff. ἐν τε φορμίγ]γεσσιν ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις ὀμοκ|λαίς, *O.* 7.12, *P.* 3.17, 12.19.

6 ὀμοκλάν seems likely: Homeric in martial contexts, e.g. *Il.* 12.413 ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ ἀνακτος ὑποδείσαντες ὀμοκλήν, 16.147; or, in relation to music, *Pind.* *I.* 5.26 ff. (quoted in the last note), *Aesch.* fr. 57.5 Radt: Dionysiac music, μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὀμοκλάν.

8 Prima facie πὰρ τάφ[ρ]ων ὀρυκτᾶν (or πρό]παρ, *Hes. Th.* 518; cf. Mastronarde on *Eur. Phoen.* 120), but 'ditch' is always singular in Homer. τάφρος ὀρυκτῆ occurs seven times in the *Iliad*, twice with the preposition παρά, but in the accusative case: παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτῆν (*Il.* 9.67, 20.49). In tragedy, τάφρος does not occur with the Homeric epithet ὀρυκτῆ and may be plural or singular: e.g., *Soph. Aj.* 1279 (plur., cf. *Eust.* on *Il.* 7.341), *Eur. Rh.* 111 and 213 (plur.), but 989 (sing.). The deviation from the Homeric phrase seems decidedly odd; it is an easy correction to πὰρ τάφρον ὀρυκτᾶν.

If the setting is Troy, the Achaeans' wall and ditch, built on Nestor's advice (*Il.* 7.336 ff.) and the focus of the fighting up to book 16, were destined to be destroyed after the fall of Troy.

10 Presumably τῶνδε μύθων rather than τῶν δὲ μύθων. In Homer ὅδε occurs almost exclusively in direct speech (Ebeling, s.v., 'eorum qui loquuntur, perraro ipsius poetae dum narrat'). I am inclined to understand μύθων as 'words, speech' rather than 'stories, legends'; cf. Aphrodite speaking the prologue in the *Hippolytus*: δειξω δὲ μύθων τῶνδ' ἀλήθειαν τάχα (9). It is possible that line 10 belongs in a speech or indicates a speech in the vicinity. Speech openings and closings in Stesichorus include 222(b).232, ὡς φάτ[ο] δῖα γυνὰ μύθοις ἀγ[α]γοῖς ἐνέποισα, S11.3, S14.4 f., S148.3 ff., 209.2, 222(b).291.

The rhythm of this line, - - - -, almost invariably signals verse end in Stesichorus. The bridge in terminal × - - - - is apparently never violated (*QUCC* 17 (1974) 49 f.).

Col. ii 1 ἐπεὶ Ἀτρεΐδ[-.

2 ἐν παιδι [: παιδι (possibly elided; cf. δαίθ', *Il.* 4. 259); cf. **2360** i 2.

3 Πυλίων. See on i 1.

4 An ethnic seems likely, e.g., Κεφαλ]λάνων, Ἐλ]λάνων, Παν-.

5 Perhaps nom. sing. Εὐρυβάτας. This name places the poem almost certainly in the context of Troy. Other than the two heralds in Homer, Eurybates is Herodorus' name for the Argonaut Eribotes (schol. *Ap. Rh.* 1.73-4); later, several famous athletes were so named: the first Olympic wrestling champion (Lacedaemonian, 708 BC), a winner in the Olympic foot-race (Athenian, 670 BC), and the Argive pentathlete general at Herodotus vi 92.16, ix 75.3 (ca. 488/7 BC) (see Pape-Benseler, *RE* VI).

At Troy, however, Eurybates the herald of Agamemnon is best known for fetching Briseis (*Il.* 1.320; cf. *Ovid Her.* iii 9, *LIMC* IV 1 95-7). Either he (*Aesch.* fr. 212a Mette) or, more likely, Odysseus' herald of the same name is selected by Nestor to accompany the embassy to Achilles (*Il.* 9.170, cf. Hainsworth ad loc.). The latter also stands near Helen in Polygnotus' painting of the fall of Troy as described by Pausanias, who interprets the scene according to a story told by Lesche(o)s (x 25.4-8 = *EGF Il. parv.* F23).

6 φωνᾶι δε [, cf. Stesichorus 209.2 (= 2360) φῶδε δ' ξ[ει]φ' Ἑλένα φωνᾶι ποτ[ι] παῖδ' Ὀδύσειο[ν]. Lobel in his note comments that the Homeric parallels suggest loudness, which would suit here if Eurybates the herald is the speaker. Alternatively, Lobel also suggested the verbal form, φωνᾶι, citing the MSS of Pindar at *O.* 12.67, *N.* 10.75 (φώνασε).

7 ελαο[: this may be ἐλαο- < ἐλάω (the object being ships rather than anything on land? — but cf. *ανιο-* in the next line), a form of λαός, or conceivably a personal name, Λαο-.

8 τε καί, if that is to be recognized here, is quite common in Stesichorus, e.g. S148 i.8f., πινέ τε καὶ θαλίαι / [εὔφραυ]ε θυμόν. But if we assume from ii 4 that verses could run over to a new line, and if this is direct speech, -τε imperative might be a better bet.

ἄνιο[- from ἀνειμι, 'return', is one possibility; another is ἀνιο[χ- (e.g. *Il.* 12.111, ἵππους τε καὶ ἡνίοχον). Rhythmically τε καὶ ἀνιο[- makes four successive shorts (improbable in Stesichorean versification), unless synizesis is assumed to scan √-√×[; but the problem disappears if we treat the second alpha as long, i.e. Doric ἀνιο[χ-.

11 E.g., νᾶέε τέ μο[ι; or, an aorist form of βλώσκειν (μολ-) is conceivably to be recognized (cf. Eur. *El.* 432 κλειναὶ νᾶεε, αἶ ποτ' ἔβατε Τροίαν).

J. YUAN

4710. FRAGMENT WITH MUSICAL NOTATION

15 2B.35/A(a)

4.6 × 6.5 cm

Third/fourth century
Plate I

A scrap with the remains of four lines set to music, written along the fibres. There is nothing on the back. The same scribe wrote both the text and the musical signs in a rapid, flowing, practised hand showing similarities to documentary cursive: Υ, Ρ, Α, Ν made in a single sequence; λo, γαρ, ει, αι in ligature. The letters are generously set out; blank space may have been used to indicate word-end (2, 4; cf. *GMAW*² p. 7 n. 28). The musical signs are normally placed directly above the simple vowel, or in the case of a diphthong, the first note above the first vowel (2, 4). Exceptions are 2] + (+ represents an incomplete or uncertain musical note-sign), where the note is late, and 3 υ, where it is early, but these may have been influenced by adjacent notes which are now lost.

The text eludes interpretation. Nothing prevents the metre from being iambo-trochaic. The musical notes are compatible with either the Lydian or Hypolydian key. The unidentified note-sign that resembles a modern quaver appears in 4 (transcribed with ν). It is followed by a *leimma* with a *stigma* above (cf. W. A. Johnson, *JHS* 120 (2000) 81). An oblique stroke in 1 probably served to link a group of notes (see LXV p. 82 and 4466).

→

	. . .
] + + [
1	] λoνoυγαρ[
	] + ζ c [
2	] ν αγει. [

3] ι υ [
] χ η ς π ρ ο [
] ν ῥ υ [
 4] β ο υ λ α ι ς [
 . . .

Text 2 . [, rising oblique, left foot of x, λ, μ etc. 4 ς [, ο possible

Notation ι] +, υ, ν, or ν; only the lower third of the sign is extant; a long oblique stroke beginning from the left edge crosses this and probably the next sign + [, foot of a descender, ι possible 2] +, in the shape of a triangle missing the right slope with a short horizontal on top and a short oblique above and parallel to the left slope, probably z̄ (z topped with a *diseme*), or possibly z̄.

Text

The first letters are so neatly arranged (and enlarged?) that these could be line-beginnings. Music texts were usually written as prose, without colometry; see E. Pöhlmann, M. L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 2001) 15.

1] λ ο ν ο ὦ γ ά ρ ο ρ] λ ο ν ο υ γ ά ρ .

2 The blank space after ν would favour word-end there,] ν ά γ ε ι . [.

3] χ η ς π ρ ο [, or possibly,] χ ' ἦ ς π ρ ο [.

4 Prima facie, β ο υ λ α ι ς [; but the space after β ο υ and the *lemma* suggest] β ο υ λ α ι ς [; cf. Φ ο ί β ο υ , Λ ά ι ο ς Eur. *Phoen.* 35.

Music

The only securely read notes are c, ι, z, υ (inverted Ω), and the so far unidentified ν (see M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) ch. 9 for the system of notation). The first four are compatible with the Lydian, Hypolydian, and Hyperaeolian *tonoi*, while ν always appears in compositions where the prevailing key is Lydian or Hypolydian. (This note appears on three other musical fragments, Pöhlmann and West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* nos. 45, 49, 56. See discussion at Pöhlmann and West, 154; LXV p. 82; cf. LIII p. 48.) The Hyperaeolian key would be unusual for a contemporary composition (cf. West, op. cit. 259 n. 9), and none of the three candidates for the first sign in 1 would be at home in it. In the Lydian key, the first sign in 1 can be read as ν (*lichanos hypaton*), and in 2, z rather than z̄. The genus would then be enharmonic or chromatic. In the Hypolydian key, υ would represent the diatonic *paranete hyperbolaion*, the first sign in 1 may then be read as ν (*parhypate hypaton*); in 2, either z̄ (*nete diezeugmenon*) or z̄ (*trite diezeugmenon*).

In either Lydian or Hypolydian key, the melody moves up a fourth in line 3. In line 2, if the notes are z̄ z c rather than z̄ z c, first up a third, then down a fifth in *αγει*. If the word is (-)*αγει*, the fall of a fifth conforms to the principle of relating melodic movement to word accent.

J. YUAN

4711. ELEGY (*METAMORPHOSES?*)

122/1(a)

Fr. 1 17.5 × 11 cm

Sixth century
Plates II–III

Four fragments of a papyrus codex re-used in a book-binding. The hand is a form of the Coptic uncial, recently discussed by N. Gonis in H. Melaerts (ed.), *Papyri in honorem Jo-*

hannis Bingen octogenarii (P. Bingen) (Leuven 2000) 125 f., with bibliography; one may compare the more formal hand of the Callimachus XX **2258** (*GMAW*² 47), assigned to the sixth century. Variations in letter size are common: contrast for example the enlarged ε of fr. 1 ↓ 2 (probably word-initial) and the narrow ο of fr. 1 ↓ 6 (second) and 7 (third) with other examples. c sometimes has a long downward-sloping overhang, as in cκ in fr. 1 ↓ 8, 9, → 10. αι is written with the tail of α joining ι at mid-line level (fr. 1 ↓ 3, → 10), and ε is commonly attached to an upright by an extended cross-stroke. Elision is marked (fr. 1 ↓ 5, 6, 12, 15, → 10, 13, all δ'). A few tremas are found (dividing vowels: fr. 1 ↓ 11, 12, → 13; marking initial v: fr. 1 ↓ 10, 13). An omitted ι is inserted between consonants at fr. 1 ↓ 15 and omitted οc restored above the line at fr. 1 ↓ 8; what I take to be a more serious corruption at fr. 1 ↓ 13 is left uncorrected. I have silently restored iota adscript, which the scribe consistently omits in both ηι and ωι.

The most extensive of the fragments, fr. 1, contains elegiacs, and the same is to be assumed for the others. Fr. 1 has on the ↓ side the story of Adonis (1–6) and, following without connection, that of Asteria (7 ff.), on the → side that of Narcissus. Since metamorphosis is mentioned in the first two and may confidently be supplied in the last, it seems natural to assign the fragments to a collection of metamorphoses. Nicander's *Ἐπεροιούμενα* and Nestor of Laranda's *Μεταμορφώσεις* were in hexameters; such works as Antigonos' *Ἀλλοιώσεις* (*SH* 50; T. Dorandi (ed.), *Antigone de Caryste: Fragments* (Paris 1999) pp. xxi–iii) and the *Μεταμορφώσεις* of Didymarchus (*SH* 378A) and Theodorus (*SH* 749, 750?) would not have been expected to turn up in Egypt at such a late date. There remains Parthenius' *Μεταμορφώσεις* (*SH* 636–7; fr. 24 Li.), of which the metre, if indeed it was not in prose, is unknown, but which would provide an obvious home for *SH* 640 (fr. 28 Li.), elegiacs on Comaetho and Cydnus: cf. E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Hildesheim⁴ 1960) 100.¹ There is no evidence that Parthenius anywhere mentioned Narcissus, but *SH* 654 (fr. 42 Li.) is certainly and *SH* 641 (fr. 29 Li.; elegy) probably concerned with Adonis, and Stephanus of Byzantium quotes in three places an elegiac *Δήλος* (*SH* 620–22; fr. 10–12 Li.), which may I suppose have been a section of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*. Verses of Parthenius are preserved in P. Gen. inv. 97 (*SH* 609–14; fr. 2–5 Li.) and P. Lond. Lit. 64 (*SH* 626; fr. 27 Li.), both parchment codices, dated to iii and iii/iv AD respectively.²

↓

Fr. 1

].λομειδ[

¹ Stephanus of Byzantium's introduction, (πηγή . . .) περιῆς Π. γράφων ἄλλά τε λέγει καὶ ὅτι παρθένος κτλ., need not imply any more than that his quotation begins in mid-sentence and mid-distich; it provides no support for the view put forward by Martini (on his fr. 22) that the story formed a digression in a longer description of the spring.

² I am grateful to the British Academy for supporting my work by the award of a Postdoctoral Fellowship.

Fr. 2

· ·
]...ε.[
]οναπ[
· ·

Fr. 3

· ·
]...α...[
]ουλυθρ.[
]υθεσκεφ[
]ησπαρ.[
5]η...[
· ·

Fr. 4

· ·
]λ...[
]ονμηρ[
]εδακρυ.[
]νε...[
]με...[.
]κ...[
· ·

→

fr. 1

· · · · ·
].[
].ο.φ...[
].....[
5]...κεραιη...[
].....[.....].....[
].....[.....]μβροτο[...]στι...[
].....ν...[...].δ...[...]....[
].....[.....].οεικελονε.[
].....[.....].[.].....[
10]ορειχεναπεχθαιρεςκεδ'απαντας[
]ορφης ρασατοςφετερης [[
]ρπηγης[.]λοφυ ατοτερψινονειρου [
]υς...δ'αγλαϊην [[
]...δωκεδεγαϊη [[
15]...φερειω [[
].....[
· · · · ·
· · · · ·

· · · · ·
].[
].ο.φ...[
].....[
]...κεραιη...[

5].....[.....]
].....[..... ἄ]μβροτό[ε ἐ]στιν.[
].....ν...[.....]δ...[.....]
].....[..... θ]εοξίκελον ε.[
].....[.....].[.....]
 10]ον εἶχεν, ἀπεχθαίρεσκε δ' ἅπαντας
 μ]ορφῆς ἠράσατο σφετέρης
]ρ πηγῆς [ὀ]λοφύρατο τέρψιν ὀνείρου
 κλα]ύσατο δ' ἀγλαίην
]... δῶκε δὲ γαίην
 15]... φέρειν
].....[

fr. 2-4: largely obscured by foreign papyrus

fr. 3

fr. 4

· · ·
]..οι..[]..ε..[
 · · ·]..[
 · · ·

↓ fr. 1 1]., specks on edge 2]..[., damaged traces, second perhaps right-hand arc of small circle
 3]..[(third), lower left-hand arc of circle 4]..[., perhaps parts of base and cross-stroke of ε or θ (last), high
 trace close to α, perhaps apostrophe 4 βε, of β only lower parts, represented by ink and surface damage
 where ink once stood; trace on line followed by end of cross-stroke touching β 5]μω, of μ, part of right-hand side of belly and much of tail;
 ω fairly clear but abraded and with surplus ink (offset?) in middle 6]..[., upright with left-pointing finial at top;
 on badly damaged surface, touching descender of φ (4), right-hand arc of circle or perhaps upright joined from
 left at foot, then trace of upright (?); close to π, upright 7]..[., low specks, perhaps lower left-hand corner of α or λ
 8]α, only part of tail 9]..[., end of cross-stroke 10]η[., first upright and part of cross-stroke with another dot
 higher up belonging to finial on second upright 11]..[(above line), perhaps two round letters 12]..[ε[ap-
 parently has a short vertical stroke growing out of its cap, no doubt casual 13]..[., trema doubtful 14]..[.,
 high trace close to ι 15]..[Touching ι, perhaps tip of tail of α 16]..[., specks, perhaps casual 17]..[., ink
 at top does not belong 18]..[., upright 19]..[ι unusually tall, omitted at first to judge by spacing 20]..[., dot level
 with tops of letters 21]..[., traces level with tops of letters, first an upright

Fr. 2 1]..[., left-hand arc and base of circle

Fr. 3 1]..[., traces on line: third, stroke descending from left to right 2]..[., foot of upright 3]..[.,
 edge of left-hand arc of circle 4]..[., tip of cross-stroke level with tops of letters 5]..[., trace level with tops
 of letters 6]..[., top of ρ, ο, or θ

Fr. 4 1 λ., of λ only the feet; base of circle 2], traces at mid-letter level, perhaps cross-stroke
 3 .[, dot level with tops of letters 4 . . .[, cross-stroke level with tops of letters; specks; end of cross-stroke
 level with tops of letters touching upright

→ fr. 1 Severe abrasion and the presence of offsets and scraps of foreign papyrus adhering to the surface make
 much of this side illegible. 1 Trace on under-layer 6 ρ, traces of left-hand arc and base of circle
 [. .], foreign scrap glued to surface . . .[, two uprights, perhaps η; left-hand arc of circle 7f. Further traces
 on foreign scrap stuck to surface at line-end 8], ρ, scattered specks at mid-line level; traces at left and right
 with lightening of papyrus, possibly where ink has flaked off, suggesting upper right-hand arc of circle . . .[, per-
 haps an upright 9]. (first), descender 10 After 'a, high trace, now resembling upper left-hand arc of
 circle, but abraded, perhaps offset 11 ., first perhaps an upright An abraded L-shaped trace above . and
 cross-strokes approximately level with tops and bottoms of letters after τo I take to be casual 12]ρ, appar-
 ently most of loop 13 . . ., ΑΤΟ seems compatible with the traces such as they are 14]. . ., second,
 perhaps a round letter; last, perhaps an upright together with traces (offsets?) above letter-top level

Fr. 1 There is no way of telling whether ↓ precedes → or vice versa. The stories of Narcissus and Adonis both
 conclude with transformations into flowers, and they were told in close proximity in *GDRK* 6.3 (i.6, ii.8; pap. of
 ii/iii AD), but a poet equally concerned with metamorphoses of other kinds might well place a contrasting story
 between them.

↓ 1–6 Adonis.

1 φ]ιλομειδ[in this context no doubt of Aphrodite, as almost always elsewhere. Dr M. L. West suggests re-
 storing the usual poetic form φ]ιλομ(μ)ειδ[, perhaps rightly, though there are late examples with a short second syl-
 lable (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.7.77 [PG 37.444], Pamprep. 3.107, *AP* 9.524.22, 6.66.9 [Paul. Silent.]; f. l. at *H. Merc.* 481).

2 έλιξ[αμειν- would suit the boar that killed Adonis: cf. *Il.* 17.281–3 *κυτ̄* . . . / *καπρίωι, ὅς τ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν κύναις*
θαλερούς τ' αἰζυγούς / ῥήϊδιός ἐκέδασεν έλιξάμενος διὰ βήσσας, 725–9, 8.338–40. For an account of the fatal hunt,
 see *Ov. M.* 10.710–16.

3f. Adonis was said to spend his time alternately with Aphrodite and with Persephone (*Apollod.* 3.14.4, sch.
Theoc. 3.48, *Orph. H.* 56.8–11).

3 αμοιβαί[: probably some part of ἀμοιβαῖος; then e.g. ἐν Ὀλύμπωι (balancing 4 νεῖθεῖ).

4 βεβλές[θαι]: Hsch. β 420 β. μέλειν, φροντίζειν; cf. 421 βέβλειν μέλειν, 509 βεμόλετο (βέμβλετο Schow)-
 έφρόντισε. I have accented the word as a perfect (with E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* i (Munich 1939) 768). But
 Latte regards βεβλ- as a corruption of μεμβλ-, perhaps rightly: cf. LSJ s.v. μέλω A.III.2. The supplement may
 appear a little on the short side, but could I think have extended far enough.

5 Adonis gave his name to the river of Byblos (*RE* s. v. Adonis (1)): cf. *Luc. Syr. D.* 8 ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστου
 ἔτεος αἰμάσσειται ... μυθόνται δὲ ὅτι ταύτησι τῆσι ἡμέρησιν ὁ Ἄδωνις ἀνὰ τὸν Λίβανον τιτρώσκειται, καὶ τὸ αἶμα
 ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρχόμενον ἀλλάσσει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῷ βόωι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην διδοῖ. At the end of the line, γ' ἔλεγον
 πα[ραναιετόντες or πα[(-) ~ Ἄδωνιν might be considered. γον, though by no means an obvious interpretation
 of the remains, since it would require a very narrow τ, does not seem ruled out (unlike e.g. χεῖ). The usual way
 of expressing this sense using this verb would be Ἄδωνιν ἔλεγον τὸν ποταμὸν or the like: for the construction
 presumed by my restoration, cf. *Pl. Sph.* 229c τούτωι γε οἶμαι μόνωι τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀμαθίαν τοῦνομα προσρηθῆναι,
 and with καλέω, *E. Hec.* 1271–3 τύμβωι δ' ὄνομα εἰς κεκλήσεται ... κυνὸς ταλαίνης εἶμα, *Pl. Cra.* 385d, *Pl.* 279c,
R. 471d (s. v. l.).

Another possibility is suggested by *Et. Gen.* s.v. Ἄωιος· ποταμὸς τῆς Κύπρου· Ἄωιος γὰρ ὁ Ἄδωνις ὠνομάζετο,
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύπριοι βασιλεύσαντος [sic] . . . Φιλίας δὲ πρῶτον βασιλεῦσαι Ἄωιον, Ἡοῦς ὄντα καὶ Κεφάλου, ἀφ'
 οὗ καὶ ὄρος τι ὠνομάσθη Ἄωϊον· ἐξ οὗ δύο ποταμῶν φερομένων Σε(τ)ράχου καὶ Ἀπλιέως [A: Πλιέως B, *Et. M.*],
 τὸν ἕνα τούτων ὁ Παρθένιος Ἄωιον κέκληκεν. ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τετραμμένην ἔχει τὴν ῥύσιν, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ
 Παρθένιος· Κωρικήων εἰόμενος ἐξ ὄρεων [*SH* 641 (fr. 29 Li.)], ἀνατολικῶν ὄντων· δύναται δὲ οὕτως καλεῖσθαι καθ'
 ὃ ἡ Κιλικία Ἄωια πάλαι ὠνομάζετο. But while the Cilician Aous is attested elsewhere (Hsch. a 8987 with R. Mer-
 kelbach and J. Stauber (edd.), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* iv (Munich and Leipzig 2002) no. 19/08/01,

cited by Latte), we have no other evidence for the use of the name with reference to a river on Cyprus, and the *SH* editors suggest that Parthenius in the passage cited had simply claimed that the Cilician Aous re-emerged as the Setrachus. It can hardly then be considered safe to replace *Ἀδωνιν* in the above reconstruction with *Ἀώιον* and take the reference to be to the Setrachus.

6 His blood produced a blood-red flower: cf. *Ov. M.* 10.735 *flos de sanguine concolor ortus*. No doubt the anemone is meant (Nic. fr. 65, *Ov. M.* 10.739, LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii.5 suppl. (*ZPE* 143 (2003) 18)), though in Bion's version (1.64–6) Adonis' blood produces the rose and Aphrodite's tears the anemone, and according to Servius on *E.* 10.18 'many' say that Adonis was turned into a rose. (In *GDRK* 6.3 i.6f. *Ἀδώνιδος* /] *ἐρίπνοον*, 'strong-scented' would suit the rose, but the anemone may also have been mentioned.) Euphorion's *Ῥάκινθος* contained a reference to the dead Adonis (fr. 43 P.), perhaps connected with the flower metamorphosis: cf. F. Scheidweiler, *Euphorionis fragmenta* (Diss. Bonn 1908) 40.

αἷματι δ' ἄμβροτος [ἴωι: cf. *Orph. L.* 652f. *ἀμβροσίωιο . . . αἷματος*; also *ἄμβροτον αἷμα* (*Il.* 5.339, 870), *ἱερὸν αἷμα* (Bion 1.22).

The *coronis* is likely to have been used at the end of the story, to judge from its appearances between *αἷτα* in papyri of Call. *Aet.* iii–iv (cf. Pfeiffer ad fr. 64 init.), though none of the copies concerned is as late as the sixth century.

7ff. Asteria.

7f. For the genealogy, cf. Hes. *Th.* 404–9, etc.

7 *Φοίβης Τιτη[νί]δος ἐκ[γεγαυία]*: cf. A. R. 1.233 *Κλυμένης Μινυηίδος ἐκγεγαυία*, 4.260 *Θήβης Τριτωνίδος ἐκγεγαυίας*; A. *Eu.* 6f. *Τιτανίς . . . Φοίβη*.

8 (. . .)–|–| before the pentameter caesura is a rhythm avoided by Callimachus (M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 158), though he has an example at *HE* 1092 (*AP* 5.6.2).

9–11 Cf. Apollod. 1.4.1 *Ἀστερία . . . ὁμοιωθεῖσα ὄρνυγι ἑαυτὴν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρριψε, φεύγουσα τὴν πρὸς Δία κυνοσίαν*, sch. Lyc. 401. Pi. *Pae.* 7b.45–7 and Call. *H.* 4.36–8 both have the jump, but Callimachus at least does not mention the transformation into a bird. For other versions, see *RE* s. v. Asteria (6).

9 end, probably *Κοιογένεια* (A. R. 2.710, of Leto, like Pindar's *Κοιογενής*, fr. 33d.3). Dr West suggests e.g. *λέκτρα θεοῖο*.

10 *ἠερίων . . . ν[εφέων]*: cf. Duris, *HE* 1773 (*AP* 9.424.1) *ἠερίαι νεφέλαι*, Nonn. *D.* 45.135 *ἠερίων νεφέων*; also Ar. *Nu.* 337. Not *ν[εφελῶν]*, to which dactylic verse at all periods prefers *νεφέων* (*νεφελῶν* only Pall. *AP* 10.80.4).

ὄρνυς has a short iota, as expected: see J. La Roche, *WS* 22 (1900) 205.

11 end, *μέσῳ ἐνικ[ά]ππεσε πόντῳ*? Cf. Dionys. *Gigantias* fr. 73 r. 7 L.]*ἐνικάππεσε πόντῳ* (preceded by *μέσῳ* (δ')?), and for the pattern *Il.* 12.206 *μέσῳ δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλ' ὁμίλῳ*, A. R. 1.1239 *μέσῃ δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλε δίνηι*; *ἔμππεσε πόντῳ* *Od.* 4.508, 5.50, 318. *π[όντῳ]* – – is less likely, correction being avoided in words of this shape in Hellenistic elegiacs (West, *Greek Metre* 157).

12–14 She became an island, at first mobile, but fixed to the spot from the time when she served as the birth-place of Apollo and Artemis (Pi. fr. 33d, *Pae.* 7b.47ff., Call. *H.* 4.51–4).

12 *ἔ[π]τη*: Dr West compares E. *Med.* 1 *διαπτάσθαι* (of the *Argo*).

ἦύτε νηῦς: cf. Call. *H.* 4.36 *ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες*, 53. A monosyllable before the pentameter caesura is generally preceded by |–| or |–| in Hellenistic elegy (West, *Greek Metre* 158; exceptions listed at n. 67).

Floating islands are termed *πλοάδες* by Theophrastus (*HP* 4.10.2, etc.), and *πλοάς* could be supplied at the end of the line, but clearly there are other possibilities.

13 *ρέιν* is used of Zeus' descent in a shower of gold in the Danae story (Pherecyd. fr. 10.8f. Fowler, *Isoc.* 10.59), but this can hardly be relevant, even if Pindar extended the motif to the conception of Heracles (*I.* 7.5–7). *ρεί Ζεύς* may be a corruption of *ρίζας*: cf. Call. *H.* 4.53f. *ἐνὶ πόντον / κύμασιν Αἰγαίοιο ποδῶν ἐνεθήκαο ρίζας*. A connection with the next line could then be obtained by supplying at the end of 13 e.g. *ὑπ[ὸ] κίονας ἦκε Κρονίων* (> *Ζεύς*, a misplaced gloss?), 'put pillars [cf. Pi. fr. 33d.5–9] under her for roots', and in 14 *ε[ὶ]ν Φοίβῳ καλὴν Ἀρ[τεμιν] εἶτ' ἔτεκεν*. Zeus is not said elsewhere to have been responsible for the stabilization of the island, but I suppose a poet might without particular boldness ascribe it to him. (Alternatives to my *ρίζας* include *ρίζω(ε)* and *ρίζου(α)*, both mentioned by Dr West.)

14 Ἄρ[τεμιν or Ἄρ[τέμιδα (*H. Ven.* 16). For καλή used of her, see Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 61–71 (but ἄ καλά at *A. Ag.* 140 is metrically doubtful: see West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990) 177f.; *Lexis* 17 (1999) 50f., 60).

15 δ(ε) is suggested by the context, and by the restriction of elision in nouns, adjectives, and verbs (West, *Greek Metre* 156); then perhaps some part of ἀμφιλαφής. For the omission of ι before λ, here corrected, cf. e.g. *P. Köln VI* 245.31 (iii AD) φλοκτητο[υ] (*contra metrum*); F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 307–9.

→ 8 ff. (and earlier?) Narcissus. The present account seems to be in general agreement with that of Conon in the twenty-fourth of his *Διηγήσεις* as summarized by Photius, *FGrH* 26 F 1 (M. K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (Munich and Leipzig 2002)), though there is no trace of Ameinias, the lover who killed himself when Narcissus rejected him (Conon § 1). See in general *RE* s.v. Narkissos (1).

8 θ]εοείκελον, if correctly read and restored, no doubt with reference to Narcissus. Then εἰ[δος?

10 He rejected all his lovers: cf. Conon § 1 ὑπερόπτης Ἐρωτός τε καὶ ἔραστῶν. For the start, one might consider e.g. ἦτορ ἀμείλιχ]ον (the rhythm uncommon but not unexampled: West, *Greek Metre* 155 with n. 52). Dr West suggests ἀστεμφῆ νό]ον or the like. The iterative (-)έχθαίρεκε does not occur elsewhere.

11 start, perhaps μέεφ' ὄτε δή (*Call. Hec. fr.* 69.4 H.; see Campbell on *Q. S.* 12.296) or εἰόκε δή (e.g. *A. R.* 4.164, where see Livrea). Dr West suggests (-) ἴης or μιής.

μ]ορφῆς ἠράσατο φετέρης: cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2.29.155 f. (*PG* 37.895) καὶ μορφῆς τις ἔης ποτ' ἐράσσατο, καὶ κατὰ πηγῆς / ἦλατ' ἐπ' εἰδῶλοι κάλλεος οὐλομένου, 2.2.3.52 f. (*PG* 37.1484) μορφῆς μὲν τις ἔης ποτ' ἐράσσατο, κτλ. The phrase is hardly so distinctive as to suggest that Gregory knew our text, and it seems clear from l. 14 below that Narcissus did not drown in this account as he does in the Neoplatonist version of the story followed by Gregory. (In view of what is said in the introduction, it should be noted that Gregory goes on in the first place to mention the story of Comaetho and Cydnus (157–60); but there are no good grounds for believing that he drew directly on Parthenius' account. R. Keydell, *ByzZ* 53 (1960) 123, suggests Nestor of Laranda as a possible source. See A. Knecht (ed.), *Gregor von Nazianz: Gegen die Putzsucht der Frauen* (Heidelberg 1972) 93 f.)

12 f. Following 11, one would expect 12]ρ to represent γά]ρ and the couplet to explain how Narcissus came to fall in love with himself: cf. Conon § 2 ὁ δὲ Νάρκισσος ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν μορφὴν ἐπὶ κρήνης ἰνδαλλομένην τῷ ὕδατι καὶ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται ἄτοπος ἔραστής. 13 may have begun e.g. ὄψιν ἐν εἰδῶν. At the start of 12, we require something to account for the case of πηγῆς, e.g. ἐνδοθι: for the displacement of the prepositional phrase, to be taken with the participle supplied in the next line, cf. *Call. fr.* 75.10 f. Pf. ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν / οἱ βόες δξείαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα.

12 πηγῆς: cf. LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii.7 πηγῆν with n. (where for 'boar' read 'bear').

τέρψιν ὀνείρου: cf. *Aristid. Or.* 1.12 (i.12.13 f. L–B). εἶοικεν ὀνείρατος εὐφροσύνη τὰ θεάματα; *Nonn. D.* 35.252 ῥίψας κλειψινόων κιοειδέα τέρψιν ὀνείρων, of a man waking up.

13 κλα]ύσατο: cf. *App. Anth.* 4.67.6 (Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford 1993) 234) ἔκλαυεν μορφῆς εἰκόνας ἀντιτύπους.

14 Probably the subject is Narcissus and the object his blood: cf. Conon § 3 δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ ἐπιχώριοι (of Thespiæ in Boeotia) τὸν νάρκισσον τὸ ἄνθος ἐξ ἐκείνης πρῶτον τῆς γῆς ἀναχεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐχύθη τὸ τοῦ Ναρκίσσου αἷμα (contrast Ovid's account, *M.* 3.509 f., where the flower appears in place of Narcissus' corpse). His suicide (Conon § 2) will then have been mentioned in the vicinity.

Fr. 3 ↓ 2 f. Perhaps from a martial context, with]ου λύθρ. [, κόρ]υθες κεφ[αλ-. Other possibilities include π]ουλύθρ. [, -]ύθεσκε φ[(*Il.* 1.491 φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ).

4712. HELLENISTIC (?) HEXAMETERS: *ARGONAUTICA* (?)

88/307-8

FR. I 14.5 × 16.2 cm

Early first century
Plates V-IX

A manuscript containing an epic poem: of the original 116 fragments, most of them tiny, only six have been joined, bringing the number to 113.

The hand of the text is a formal round type, rather large sized, carefully enough executed though not particularly beautiful. The letters lean slightly forward. Only ϕ , ψ , ι and occasionally η break bilinearity. α and γ are always of the angular type; μ is executed with four strokes usually with shallow centre: the first stroke may be upright, or leaning slightly forward, while the last is always inclined, and ends with a curve, similar to the descending oblique of λ ; the horizontal of τ is executed in two movements (the right stroke after the descending vertical), and so is the rounded part of ϵ , whose upper section is sometimes separated from the lower one: its cross-bar often does not touch the arc. The second vertical of η (which, as in π , is curved leftward) descends from the horizontal stroke's right extremity, without any loop, and its left upright is taller, producing an η -shaped form, a cursive feature paralleled both in earlier and in later hands (for a perhaps more or less contemporary example, cf. P. Med. inv. 68.41 [= Montevicchi, *Papirologia*, pl. 35] a private letter dated AD 13, whose writing is comparable to the other documentary hands mentioned below). The descending oblique of κ departs more often from its rising oblique than from its upright (cf. e.g. P. Fouad inv. 266, *GMAW*² 56, i BC, assigned, P. Herc. 1507, i BC, assigned, and 336/1150, i AD). The most distinctive feature of this hand is the small serif following η (and, less frequently, at the bottom of the descender of ϕ , ψ , γ and ρ): this seems to be due to the influence of earlier cursive hands (cf. e.g. P. Lond. I 35, 161 BC, pl. 2 in G. Menci, *S&C* 3 (1979) 23-53) rather than to any aesthetic purpose. Moving towards the foot of the column lines begin progressively further to the left (Maas's law). Accents and breathings, very sparsely provided, are, in most cases, in a darker ink, and must have been added at a later time (cf. e.g. fr. 3.10).

The general appearance of this hand can be compared to the (less formal) one of II 282 (a petition dated between 30 and 35), and to the rhetorical exercise of II 216 (apparently under Tiberius: cf. also Roberts, *GLH* 10a-b: in both cases μ tends to have a more rounded shape). Comparable hands are found in other literary rolls assigned to the first half of the first century AD, such as the texts grouped together by Menci, *S&C* 3 (1979) 39 f., with commentary on p. 43 (a group which includes XXXVII 2808, a more careful example of a similar style), and, for instance, in the (less formal) Homer papyrus Mertens-Pack³ 0643. It seems unlikely that it is much later than the middle of the first century AD and it may conceivably be somewhat earlier.

The text is sparingly marked up with lectional signs: high stop (fr. 1.10, 11, 12, 14[?]; 2.19; 3.2; 14.3; 25.3); diaeresis organic (14.7) and inorganic (on initial upsilon, 1.9, 14[?]; 2.12; 14.8[?]; 25.3; 47.2[?]; on internal upsilon: 14.4[?]); rough breathing (3.10; 5.2; 14.3[?], 6;

42.2; 47.3; 55.1; 94.3²); circumflex accent (1.9²); acute (94.3²); gravis, or rough breathing (14.3²); rough breathing and circumflex together (1.19; 3.10). Elision may be effected tacitly (1.12²; 2.8²; 14.4; 50.4); no clear example of elision mark or of *scriptio plena*. There are no identifiable orthographic errors, or omissions of iota adscript (written correctly at 1.19; 3.8; 14.9; 52.2²). An apparently different hand has added a correction above the line at 85.3.

The fragments, as far as they can be read, would fit in the frame of an *Argonautica*. The context is quite clear in the two major pieces, where apparently Medea (whose name does not appear in the extant text) utters a monologue, falls asleep, has a nightmare (featuring Jason (fr. 1.12 *Αἰκονίδην*) and the fire-breathing bulls) and suddenly awakes. The long description of Medea's dream is paralleled in A. R. 3. The other fragments are in such condition that they cannot be used, as far as I can see, either to prove or to disprove that the rest of the poem dealt with the same subject (cf. also on fr. 14 and 26).

Style prevents attribution to the apparently archaic hexameter poem mentioning Argonautic themes transmitted by LIII **3698** (on which cf., most recently, A. Debiasi, *ZPE* 143 (2003) 1–5) and possibly XXX **2513**, and suggests a date not earlier than the late classical or, much more probably, Hellenistic period (a slightly later date cannot be ruled out on palaeographical grounds).

Apart from A. R. himself, we know of only one author of a poetic *Argonautica* in this period, Cleon of Kourion. The first book of his *Argonautica* is quoted in schol. A. R. 1.587, p. 51 W., and he is mentioned also in schol. A. R. 1.77–8, p. 13 W. and 1.623–6a, p. 55 W. (= *SH* 339). Lines 11 ff. of P. Mich. inv. 1316^v (= *SH* 339A) contain a general comparison between the narrative technique of two poems, one of which is A. R.'s *Argonautica*. One of the authors seems to be *κύπτομος* (l. 11) and to show *ἀνα]γκαίαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν* (l. 14: in a rather Homeric way? l. 13); it is possibly the same one who uses digressions (ll. 12² and 17: this feature is attributed in the introduction of the *SH* apparatus to the second poem, but I find it difficult to reconcile it with *συνεχέει* in l. 15); the other seems to be lengthier (l. 15) and the two adjectives *συνεχέει καὶ πολυστήχοις* must refer to him. Since in ll. 1 ff. the Argonauts' route in A. R. (who leads them to the Bebrycia by the end of book 1) is opposed to their route in Cleon (where they are first brought to Troy, where Heracles rescues Hesione), it seems highly probable that the second poem in the comparison (i.e. the lengthier one) was Cleon's *Argonautica* (so Parsons ap. J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Köln 1982) 60 f., and *SH* ad loc.; *contra* Rusten, op. cit. 56 f., and n. 13, who suggests that the lengthier poem might be A. R.'s one, and leaves the first one anonymous). From *SH* 339A.23 ff. it seems that Cleon dealt with Medea's love as well, though it is not clear which version of Aphrodite's intervention he actually followed. A *terminus ante quem* for Cleon seems to be provided by A. R.'s poem itself, since, according to Asclepiades of Myrlea (*FGrHist* 697 F 5 in schol. A. R. i 623–6a, p. 55 W. = *SH* 339), A. R. is said to have taken from Cleon the story of Thoas' rescue. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the fact that, according to *SH* 339A.3–6, in narrating the Argonauts' involvement in the rescue of Hesione, Cleon is thought to be following Dionysius Scytobrachion: the remains *ἀλλ' ὃ γε Κουριεὺς ο[] / κατ]αβεβλημένον πραγματείαν. /]*. *Ἴλιον αὐτοὺς ἀγαγὼν ἀκολου/θ-*]. *Διονυσίω* suggest this. Dionysius

himself was active in the first half of iii cent. BC (cf. Rusten, *op. cit.* 89f.). Cleon therefore might have been an older contemporary of A. R., and his poem cannot have been much earlier than A. R.'s. A further, rather speculative, argument for dating Cleon in the first half of the third century BC may be inferred from the *diegesis* of Callimachus *Ia.* 5, where the *diegetes* identifies Callimachus' anonymous addressee with a Cleon or an Apollonius. This is clearly guesswork, but it is suggestive that exactly these two names have been proposed for the identification. A reason might have been that there was an allusion to an *Argonautica* in Callimachus' poem. If so, the author of the conjecture must have thought that both Cleon and Apollonius were Callimachus' contemporaries. Since Cleon was known to Asclepiades of Myrlea and to the author of P. Mich. inv. 1316^v (if they are not the same person) it is rather likely that his work was still circulating in the early imperial age. For a more detailed assessment of the evidence on Cleon, cf. G.B. D'Alessio in R. Pretagostini (ed.), *La letteratura ellenistica: Problemi e prospettive di ricerca* (Roma 2000) 91–112, and L. Lehnus, *ZPE* 138 (2002) 12 (who argues that Cleon's name may lurk behind the words $\tau\omega \dot{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\iota$ in the catalogue of Callimachus' adversaries of *schol. Flor.* ad fr. 1.1 Pf., line 4).

There is, however, no positive reason to think of Cleon as the author of our text, apart from the fact that he is the only poet known to have written an epic poem dealing at length with this subject in a suitable period. It is of course possible that our papyrus might be the work of some otherwise unknown poet: a couple of passages, however, suggest at least the possibility that this poem might have been known to Vergil and Valerius Flaccus (cf. on 1.12 and 2.16f.). A poetic *Argonautica* has been postulated as the common source for the cases where *Argonautica Orphica*, Valerius Flaccus and other Latin authors converge against A. R. (H. Venzke, *Die orphischen Argonautika in ihrem Verhältnis zu Apollonios Rhodios* (diss. Berlin 1941) 110f.): some think it must be later than A. R. (H. Herter, *Gnomon* 21 (1949) 72), some that it must be earlier (so e.g. F. Vian in his introduction to *AO* (Paris 1987) 27f.). In the second case it may (or it may not) be identical with Cleon's. It is worth noting that Valerius Flaccus does have the Argonauts' Trojan diversion, which, as we now know, was present in Cleon, though not in A. R. (nor in *AO*, for that matter).

It is difficult to assess if our poem should be dated earlier or later than A. R.'s. The two major fragments parallel rather closely one of A. R.'s most celebrated episodes. Medea's falling asleep, her nightmare and her sudden awakening are to be compared with A. R. 3.616–35 (cf., in some respects, also her sleepless night in 751ff.), while the mention of the possible reaction of the Colchian women at the end of her monologue recalls Medea's words in 794ff. On the other hand in A. R. there is no monologue followed by the heroine's sleep (the sequence monologue – short nightmare – sudden awakening is to be found also in Val. Fl. 7.127–52, but the two nightmares are rather different). A general comparison of the contents is not easy: one may note, however, that, judging from fr. 1.13f. and fr. 2, in Medea's dream the fearsome bulls occupied far more space than they did in A. R., who brilliantly focused on Medea's unconfessed desire.

Since no single line is entirely preserved, one cannot fairly judge the style of these verses. They show a remarkable preference for the feminine caesura, with a percentage

	.. ππεσεκεκλ[. . .] . . . δετο[	κάππεσε· κεκλι[μέ]νη δετο[
	. ρεμαδεβλεφ[.] καταπτ[	ἤρέμα δὲ βλεφ[άροι ~] καταπτ[
	. λ[. . .] νύπο[.] οικιναν[.	. λ[. . .] νύπο[.] οικιναν[.
10	ο . . . αθυπνωουσα· διακραδίη[	οἶα καθυπνώουσα· διὰ κραδίη[
	. ενθηραιοβοεες[. . .] ν· αποπρ[	μενθήραι βοέες[κ]ον· αποπρ[
	αικονιδηγορ[. . .] . . . αι· αιιδενικ[	Αἰκονίδην ὄρ[ά]αξ[θ]αι· ἀεὶ δ' ἐνικ[
	οξενοςηταυροι . [.] πεπαρμενο[	ὁ ξένος ἢ ταύροις[ι] πεπαρμένο[σ
	]νδ[. . .] φονοιγενετηρος· υπ . . [	ἀ]νδ[ρο]φόνους γενετήρος· υπ . . [
15	. νκαιπουτικεκ . . [	- - - ] ν καὶ πού τι κεκ . . [
	]ρυσε[. . .] κυκωο[	- - - ( ~ ) ρυσε[. . .] κυκωο[μεν-
	]φοτ . [. .] σεμετα [	- - - ] φοτ . [. .] σε μετα[
	. ενπ . [	. εν π . [
	] ηιπελεν . [	- - - ] ηι πελεν . [
20	] ης μιμν[	] ης μιμν[
	] α . ροι . [	] α . ροι . [
	] πυροσς[	] πυροσς[
	] . . υ[. . .] . [	] . . υ[. . .] . [

1] . [, dots high and low in the line] . . . [, on the edge to the left, a low dot, then feet belonging to κ rather than to λ, followed by a low horizontal (or a lower arc): possibly] . κλ[2] μ, or λλ [, upper left-hand arc] . , upper right-hand arc 3-5 the fibres are much damaged and in some cases misplaced 3] . , the right-hand extremity of a curl, thicker in its upper part (e.g. the end of λ, etc.?) after δο only two specks on a single fibre λ[rather than λ or λ; the following gap might accommodate at least one letter; after the gap two rather close traces on the lower edge, as of the right-hand end of a lower arc, then the thick foot of an upright and another dot further to the right (shape and distance suggest κ rather than λ, but the traces might belong to more than one letter); at the end of the line isolated traces of ink on disturbed fibres, whose level is difficult to ascertain 4] . [, second, foot of upright] . [, small left-hand hook of a descender τ . [, dot in the line, seemingly part of a left-hand lower arc σθ or σε; the following letter is almost completely lost, apart from a curl (open toward right) low in the line at its left-hand edge, possibly the end of λ after σ, very uncertain traces suggest a high horizontal, perhaps departing from an upright (e.g. η?); then a misplaced scrap, whose level can not be determined, but which might belong to this line: a (high?) horizontal followed by the first stroke of e.g. λ 5] . , only a trace on a fibre now displaced up to the left α . , a narrow letter, whose foot in the line alone survives (ι, ρ); then η or π ν . α, a high horizontal stroke after ν, before α a linking stroke at half height: the space might be filled by two narrower letters, but τ would be wide enough by itself 6 φ . μ, two dots in the line; then the far left lower dot of a μ, followed by its right-hand half, rather than λ] . , traces of ink on the upper right-hand edge suggesting an upper right-hand arc (ο?) after κατ, a slightly displaced fragment, with possibly the upper part of λ followed by the end of an upright and the beginning of a descending oblique (i.e. η), seems to belong here 7 . . π, possibly traces of the rising oblique of κ and rising oblique of λ (but no trace of cross-bar)] . [, top of an upright] . . , upper part of upright hooked to right at top, joined to left, at bottom, by a thinner horizontal, suggesting the right-hand half of η, then, after a gap, dots high and low in the line, and then a low dot: the space

suggests $\eta\eta\Delta$ 8 ρ , traces compatible with η ϕ , only the tip of the vertical below λ in the previous line
 9 λ , the first letter is an upright, with a turn to the left at its top λ , a triangular letter with neither cross-bar
 nor horizontal base (but the surface is damaged); high dot (as e.g. the start of γ); above, broken in two, probably
 a circumflex accent $\bar{\cdot}$, a descender $\bar{\cdot}$, high dot, as of the beginning of a horizontal or an oblique stroke
 10 after σ , upper part of upright, apparently with no oblique or horizontal stroke down to half-height; to the
 left-hand edge of the gap a high dot; after the gap a slightly rising stroke low in the line ϵ , middle part
 of descending oblique, end of rising oblique and upper part of upright $\bar{\cdot}$, high dot, conceivably part of an
 arc 12 $\bar{\cdot}$, high dot followed by unidentifiable traces on disturbed fibres α is followed by a dot at its
 right, perhaps a washed-out wrong punctuation 13 $\bar{\cdot}$, lower left-hand arc μ is traced in an anomalous
 way that could suggest $\lambda\lambda$, but no doubt λ was meant 14 δ , only the right-hand angle low in the line ϕ ,
 upper part of a tall upright ν , only the left-hand dot of a diaeresis, or, perhaps more likely, a high point $\bar{\cdot}$,
 lower right-hand part of a circle, followed by a horizontal, or rising oblique, whose original height in the line is
 difficult to ascertain 15 $\bar{\cdot}$, right-hand arc $\bar{\cdot}$, of the first an upper and lower arc: the surface between
 them is damaged; then foot of upright and descending oblique further to the right 16 ϵ , or ϑ ϱ , c is
 equally possible 17 $\bar{\cdot}$, σ , ω or perhaps ϵ , since its cross-bar might have started in the gap (cf. e.g. ϵ in
 $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\iota$ in 7) 18 $\bar{\cdot}$, end of descending oblique $\bar{\cdot}$, left-hand lower arc 19 $\bar{\cdot}$, top tip of c? $\bar{\cdot}$,
 low dot 20 η , the space would not allow a reading such as $\tau\varrho$, $\tau\varrho$ 21 α , faint foot of upright:
 the space suggests τ or γ $\bar{\cdot}$, lower and right-hand arc: the distance from the preceding ι suggests either the
 right-hand half of ω or $\bar{\cdot}$ ϱ 22 ζ , σ not ruled out 23 $\bar{\cdot}$, horizontal ligature to top of σ or c ; at
 the end horizontal joining top of upright

Fr. 2

	δ[		δ [
	$\epsilon\iota\theta$[		$\epsilon\iota\theta$ [
	$\tau\alpha\nu\rho$[		$\tau\alpha\nu\rho$ [
	$\eta\mu$[		$\eta\mu$ [
5	$\alpha\rho\pi$[		$\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi$ [
	] $\upsilon\pi\nu$[.] . [		] $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu$ [.] . [
	] $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$[		] $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ [
	] $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$[		] $\phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta$ [
	] $\epsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\pi$ . [		] $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\pi$. [
10	] $\pi\upsilon\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\tau$[		] $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau$ [
	] $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi$. [.] . ϵ [] $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi$. [.] . ϵ [
	] $\upsilon\pi\nu\sigma$ . [		] $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\sigma$ σ [
	] $\mu\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\rho\alpha$ . [		] $\mu\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\rho\alpha$. [
	] $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\kappa$. [.] ϕ . [] $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \kappa[\epsilon]\phi\alpha[\lambda\eta\sigma$
15	.] $\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\nu\gamma\alpha\rho\sigma$ [.] $\sigma\mu$[		τ] $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\omega\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \sigma[\tau]\sigma\mu[\alpha\tau-$
	.] $\kappa\chi\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$ [.] σ . [$\acute{\epsilon}] \kappa\chi\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ [.] σ . [
	. .] $\lambda\upsilon\phi\omega\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\upsilon$ . [		$\epsilon\iota]$ $\lambda\upsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\mu$ [

.] ηνδεκρωσσοιοκ[
 ..] προχέειν τόςον[
 20 ..] εχέωνανεπαλτ[
 foot

..] ην δὲ κρωσσοίο κ[
 ..] προχέειν τόςον [
 ἐκ] λεχέων ἀνέπαλτ[(ο)

2 θ, ε may also be considered 5 π[rather than τ. [6].[, lower arc 7 π, or η ε[, or θ[
 8 η[, upright with horizontal departing from it to the right at half height (κ rather less likely) 9 .[, left-hand
 arc 11 .[, traces suggesting a left-hand arc], a high horizontal (τ, τ: if τ, no further letter in the gap at
 its left) 12 .[, o or c (no trace of cross-bar) 13 .[, foot of upright 14 κ. [, traces on disturbed
 fibres: an upright and, close to its right, a broken second upright or two deformed obliques φ. [, two diagonals
 joining at letter-top height 16 .[, foot of upright followed by high trace 17 .[, trace low on the edge
 18].[, horizontal joining η at half-height: τ or τ (ζ not excluded) 20].[, low trace joining ε

Fr. 3

Fr. 4

Fr. 5

.
]νδ[.]ρνπ[
]σ·α· [.]·αγνω[
]ητοιοδεπ[.]·νσπινθ[
]ελασεθλιβε· [.]κεκμηω[
 5]·πτηροσεχε· [.]·ονκνω[
]·ασχετοσεκχ[.]·σβεσθη· [
]ητειραναοιδ[.]·· [
]κοτιωικλαχ· [.]··· [
]ων·ωστειρα[.]··· [
 10]η̂ζότελ[.]··· [
]ομο[.]··· [
]φε[.]··· [

Fr. 3 2 .[, foot of upright 3 π[, or, less probably, τ followed by upright 4 .[, low dot, probably
 foot of upright: the distance suggests τ 5].[, lower part of right arc? .[, a slightly descending oblique
 departing from the upper extremity of ε (γ, x?) 6].[, an almost horizontal stroke joins α at top-letter level:
 τ or τ rather than σ 7]η, or]π 8 γ. [, or π; otherwise, the letter on the edge would probably be ρ
 (no trace of cross-bar, but, since the surface left is not wide enough, ε is not ruled out) 9 ω, a letter joining
 ω low in the line, and represented, high in the line, by a slightly rising oblique, compatible with ζ, but conceivably
 z, not exemplified elsewhere in this papyrus 10 lectional signs in darker ink

Fr. 4 1].[, τ or τ 2].[, upright with horizontal extending to the right above it (τ, τ) 3].[, low
 dot θ[, left arc only 5].[, trace high in the line 6].[, upright .[, left-hand arc 7]. . .[,
 traces high in the line; second, descending oblique

Fr. 5 2].[, a horizontal level with letter-tops .[, dot level with letter-tops

Fr. 6	Fr. 7	Fr. 8	Fr. 9
·]λo[·	·].[·	·]βα[·	·].[·
· ]. . . [	· ]αc.[·		·]αcι.[·
· ·	·]θα.[·		·].[·

Fr. 6 2] . . . [, three upright strokes

Fr. 7 1] . [, foot of upright with diagonal to left and serif to right? η?

2 . [, upright and thick horizontal base, very close to the preceding c

3 . [, rising oblique

Fr. 9 1] . [, fleck, then flattened lower arc

2 . [, trace at half-height

3] . [, top of upright?

Fr. 10	Fr. 11	Fr. 12
·].[·	·]. ε.[·	·].[·
·]. ε[·	·]ν.[·	·]. . α.[·
· ·	·]. ν.[·	·]. επιφ[·
		·]τοc[·
		5]. μηπ[·
		·]εκλα[·
		·]παταc[·
		·]ηνcπo[·
		·]. ηγαγε[·
		10]εμο.[·
		·].[·

Fr. 10 1] . [, dot in the line 2] . , dot at half-height on the edge

Fr. 11 1] . [, foot of upright followed by mid-height trace 2 . [, left-hand upper arc 3] . , right-hand part and bottom of round letter, slightly narrower than usual ο, so perhaps part of ω . [, low dot

Fr. 12 1] . [, upper arc 2] . , lower part of upright, then dot on the line followed by foot of upright ending with a small right curl (both may belong to π) . [, foot of upright 3] . , low right-hand arc 4] τ, τ not excluded 5] . , lower arc π[, τ not excluded 8 ο[, right-hand arc, ω possible 9] . , right-hand part of high horizontal: τ or τ 10 . [, high dot 11] . [, start of descending oblique high in the line

Fr. 13

. . .
] . [.] . [.]
] δ ε ν . . . [.]
 . . .

Fr. 14

. . .
] c [] ε c c . [.]
] ρ ω [. .] ο ν ξ ε ν ο [.]
] ἀ c φ α ε θ ο ν τ ι τ ε ο υ [.]
] τ ε π α ν δ ρ ο θ υ τ ο [.]
 5] ε ρ ο υ c τ ο ρ θ υ γ γ α δ [.]
] ὦ ν ο υ κ ε δ α μ α c . [.]
] α ῖ c τ ω c ε ι ε χ α ν [.]
] ι c . [1-2] φ ο ρ η τ ο c . [.]
] ε π [. .] γ ε ι ω ι . [.]
 10] ε μ [.]

Fr. 15

. . .
] λ η . [.]
] . . [.]

Fr. 13 2 after ε the line is broken: of each of the letters I read as ν only the four extreme dots remain, but the first at least seems reasonably secure; of the following letters traces are preserved only in the upper part: an upper arc, a dot (with a left-hand tip), a second dot

Fr. 14 1]ε, little curl open to the right, as of the end of λ, c, ε, a dot, slightly higher, may belong to a cross-bar . [, thick dot at half height 2]ρ, traces of a loop level with letter-tops]ο, or ω ο [, ω equally possible 3] , lower part of descending oblique with muddled traces above it: a descending oblique above the line (if not on a misplaced scrap) must belong to a rough breathing or to an accent after φ only the feet of the supposed α ο υ [seems likelier than c τ 4]τ, or τ υ, possible trace of diaeresis above . [, upper left-hand arc 6]φ, a lower arc, open at top, somewhat narrower than usual ο, ε, θ, c, but perhaps acceptable as right-hand half of ω; above it an upright meeting at its base a short rising oblique (i.e. an anomalous rough breathing?) . [, c or φ 7 τ, only the very first dot of its juncture with the upper extremity of c 8 c . [, thick high dot, part of a slightly descending oblique: γ (x unlikely), rather than high stop . [, traces of ink above the line, conceivably part of a trema and a circumflex, or a breathing; of the letter written in the line only a trace remains, possibly belonging to an upper arc 9 . [, a very small left-hand loop on the edge

Fr. 15 1 . [, left-hand arc 2] . [, the traces are higher than expected for line level: the first may represent a rough breathing (though no preserved breathing in the papyrus has this divaricated shape) or a supralinear γ. The second may be part of an accent (a circumflex?) almost joining the top of a vertical, with traces of a high horizontal further to the right, or, more probably, a supralinear τ.

Fr. 16

. . .
] . . [.] α ι c [.]
] . ε . [.]
] . α ξ ο [.]
] ε c τ α . [.]
 5] λ ε ο ν . [.]

Fr. 17

. . .
] . [.]
] ε . . [.]
] λ ω ν [.]
] . α κ α τ [.]
] α χ ε υ ε [.]

Fr. 18

. . .
] μ ε [.]
] ε ρ ι ν [.]

Fr. 19

. . .
] . α ι α . [.]
] γ ε . [.]

Fr. 26 1]π[, or]τφ[,]τφ[or similar 2]ν, a dot at half-height; rising oblique with traces of ink low in the line: κ less likely φζ[, rather than φ[4 λιζ[, better than Νφ[5 the second ε is represented only by a high dot at the edge of the gap, at the junction with the preceding letter, and by the last bit of the right-hand lower arc further to the right 6], an upright with a stroke at half-height departing toward right 7], speck 8], part of upright?

Fr. 27 1]π, or η 3 ε[, or φ

Fr. 28 1], a descending oblique 2], lower left-hand arc? 3], a dot at half-height

Fr. 29

·
·
] κ [·
] ταπ [·
] ις [·
·

Fr. 30

·
·
] ενο [·
·

Fr. 31

·
·
] [·
] ν [·
] ιλη [·
] [·
·

Fr. 29 1], two lower arcs 2], dot below the line: ρ? 3], an upright 4 π, the beginning of the second upright

Fr. 30 1], dot at half-height

Fr. 31 1], (one or two letters) foot of seriffed upright and final curl of descending oblique (κ?) or lower left-hand arc 2], traces of ink at half-height; of Ν only the right-hand upright 3], an upright taller than letter-tops level

Fr. 32

·
·
] σπε [·
] νακ [·
] νοικ [·
] ω [·
·

Fr. 33

·
·
] [·
] ηδεcc [·
] ναγιον [·
] [·
·

Fr. 34

·
·
] [·
] ο [·
] πρ [·
] εν [·
5] [·
·

Fr. 32 2], damaged surface, the end of horizontal at half-height and low dot: λ, ε? 3], an upright 4 ω, the second part unusually traced in two strokes

Fr. 33 1], upright with low dot 4 mm to its right 2]η, traces of upright, then high horizontal joining upright, possibly also τ!, τ! 3], tall letter followed by dot level with letter-tops

Fr. 34 1], low dot 2], descending oblique joining ο 3], upright 4], π, or η 5], top of upright and horizontal departing from it towards right: η, π or τ.

Fr. 35

·
·
]ημ[
]ευσατ[
]ημεν[
].ρασυν[
5]..ιιι..[
·
·

Fr. 36

·
·
].c
]λοντα[
].χοι[
]ναεθ[
·
·

Fr. 37

·
·
]φαρω[
].[.]δατ[
·
·

Fr. 38

·
·
]ρπ[
] [
·
·

Fr. 35 2 ε, end of lower arc with trace of ink suggesting a cross-bar 3 ν, lower part of first upright and part of descending oblique: κ possible 4], a slightly curving upright, as of the end of η or π 5], top of upright, and top of rising oblique: e.g. κ (too narrow for η)], top of upright

Fr. 36 1], descending oblique, as of λ 3], end of descending oblique

Fr. 37 1]φα, traces on distorted fibres: a descender, then, on a single fibre, a trace compatible with the extremity of the loop of φ, followed by further traces suggesting a letter with a cross-bar 2], upper arc]δ, the junction of a rising and of a descending oblique (λ, λ also possible)

Fr. 38 2 lower margin?

Fr. 39

·
·
]π[
]ςυ.[
].[.] [
·
·

Fr. 40

·
·
]εκη[
·
·

Fr. 41

·
·
]ληδ[
]ροκ.[
].ολ[
·
·

Fr. 42

·
·
]εγ[
]όπ[
]στε[
]στ.[
5]..αστ[
·
·

Fr. 39 1 π, or τ 2 ζ, or ο; there is some stray ink above ζ and at the base of υ], τ or π 3 the first trace belongs to an upper arc; the second is the top of an upright with a horizontal departing from it towards right

Fr. 40 1]ε, right-hand end of lower arc and traces belonging to a cross-bar, or to the top of a c η, or π

Fr. 41 1 λ, likelier than χ 2], left-hand arc 3], upright λ, μ also possible

Fr. 42 1 γ, π less likely, but not ruled out 2 π, τ also possible 4], left-hand arc 5], low dot (foot of upright?)

Fr. 43

·
·
].[
·
·

Fr. 44

Top?
].εδα[
·
·

Fr. 45

·
·
].αδ[
·
·

	]νφ.[	]κενη.[	]ιι.[
	]χειαν [	]κοξε.[	.
	]νακου[	]λ[	.
5	]τσιπελε[	]ι.[	.

Fr. 43 1] ., foot of upright hooked to right, then an upright with a horizontal departing from its middle part towards right: η or κ 2]?, junction of descending oblique and second upright 3] ., lower arc 4] ., dot in the line

Fr. 44 1] ., a horizontal joining ε high in the line (τ, τ, etc.) 2] ., traces suggesting a left-hand lower arc, rather than an upright 3] ., foot of upright 4] ., foot of upright

Fr. 45 1] ., dot in the line and foot of upright further to the right (also]ιι possible) 2] ., part of a right-hand upper arc 3] ., upright slightly inclined to right

Fr. 46

.	.
]α.[	.
]λω[	.
]ντ[	.

Fr. 47

.	.
]...[.
]ροϰυ[	.
]π[	.

Fr. 48

.	.
]ο.[	.
]χο.[	.
]υν[	.

Fr. 46 1] ., part of a descender, fairly close to the previous letter 2] ., end of descending oblique

Fr. 47 1]...[, low dot; foot of upright slightly hooked to left and a dot in the line 5 mm to its right (as e.g. η?); foot of upright or of rising oblique; end of descending oblique; start of rising oblique and foot of a descending one: e.g. χλ or similar combinations? 3] ., faint traces of right-hand upper arc on the edge; to its right, higher, the top of a slightly curving descending oblique and, further to the right and higher, a short rising oblique (this latter most probably part of a rough breathing; the former stroke is also a lectional sign rather than part of a letter (if it is a letter, it must be γ) π, only the top of the first upright and part of the horizontal (τ also possible).

Fr. 48 1 low dot (start of a rising oblique?) 2]χ, junction between an upright and an horizontal, slightly damaged: τ also possible 3] ., left-hand upper arc

Fr. 49

.	.
]θα[	.
]κρη[	.

Fr. 50

.	.
]...[.
]χευ[	.
]ωνεκλ[	.
]ετοπωπην	.

Fr. 51

.	.
]ο.[	.
]ο.[	.
]ουοντ[	.
]εικω[	.
5]κοσσω[	.

]. [

Fr. 49 2],, lower part of upright

Fr. 50 1]. . . [, low dot; 5 mm to the right a further dot (part of upright?); 8 mm further to the right the foot of an upright 2]. . . [, foot of upright, then a lower arc 3 λ [, the height of the junction between rising and descending oblique suggests this, or λ, rather than χ

Fr. 51 1-2 stripped; specks of ink on underlying fibres 3],, a descending oblique 6]. [, top of a descending oblique, higher than average letter-tops

Fr. 52

. . .
]. . [
]. ηι [
]αχ [

Fr. 53

. . .
]χα . [
]. ης [
. . .

Fr. 54

. . .
]νδ [
]εαα [
]νεκ [

Fr. 52 1]. [, low dot, then left-hand lower arc 2],, low dot 3]α, top of descending oblique and right-hand end of the cross-bar?

Fr. 53 1]. [, ζ or φ 2]. [, high dot

Fr. 55

. . .
]κη á [.] . . [
]σαλκος [
]. π [. .] ι . . [
. . .

Fr. 56

. . .
]ελασσαζ [
. . .

Fr. 57

. . .
]ε . [
]εςσιδ [
]ονας . [
]. . . . [
5]ωσακ [
]. [
. . .

Fr. 55 1 η, straight upright and a second one curved toward left: π also possible above α a rough breathing or an accent and a long-mark]. [, foot of upright and a dot 3 mm to its right 2 line end? a few specks could belong to a τ (only) if not part of last c 3],, right-hand upper arc π [, τ also possible]. [, a left-hand upper arc

Fr. 56 1]ε, a low dot, and traces of a cross-bar: ε is the most obvious possibility

Fr. 57 1]. [, right-hand lower arc 3]. [, a right-hand arc 4 fibres very damaged. Traces of: a descending oblique; high horizontal, or flattened upper arc? upper arc with cross-bar underneath it 6]. [, top of a descending oblique

Fr. 58

·
·
] . α α ι κ [
] α λ ι ν ο ς τ ο ς ε ς α [

Fr. 59

5

10

·
·
] δ [
] τ [
] α [
] . ς [
] [
] [
] [
] [
] [
] [
] [
] [

Fr. 60

·
·
] ω ν ο [
] φ . ν [
] ν α π α [
] τ η λ ι . [
] θ υ [] . . [
] β λ ε [
] ν α η [
] . ρ α [
] υ [

Fr. 58 i 1], a slightly descending but almost horizontal stroke joining α at half-height κ[, lower part of upright and of a descending oblique: κ rather than κ̄ ii 2 α[, ᾱ, λ̄ also possible

Fr. 59 i 3]α, slightly curving descending oblique, larger than expected: perhaps lower end of a *coronis*? 4], upper left arc 10], dot as, e.g., the right-hand end of γ ii 1 δ[, smaller and probably in a different hand from the main text: ᾱ also possible

Fr. 60 2 top of upright and traces low in the line, a bit too wide apart for a single η? 4 τ, or τ̄
[, low speck 5], high horizontal, followed by dot higher than letter-top level: φ? 7 η[, or κ[
8], middle part of upright, almost certainly ι 9]υ[, top of descending oblique: x also possible; ᾱ, λ̄ less likely

Fr. 61

5

10

·
·
] . [
] . [
] . α . [
] . [] . ε . . [
] . γ ρ η ν [
] . ρ υ φ ε ν ο . . μ α [
] . α ι [
] τ ο [
] . ε ς κ ε [
] π ι β ω ν [

Fr. 62

·
·
] ε ν [
] ο ς [
] τ ο υ [

Fr. 63

·
·
] . ζ ς ω ν [
] ο ι ρ ε ω [
] . [.] . [.] . [

Fr. 61 1-4 traces on damaged fibres, mostly unreadable 5], confused specks and blots 6], dot on distorted fibre ο . . : foot of upright; 4 mm to its right a low dot; 2 mm further to the right a second low dot, on distorted fibre μ, rather than λλ? 7], upright 8 ρ[, left-hand upper arc, ε also possible 9], a dot at letter-bottom level and another one at middle height ε, upper arc: a dot at half height to its right may be the end of its cross-bar, or part of another letter (in which case read κο.] 10]π, or η ς[, a more natural reading than μ[, because of the inclination of the descending oblique (but cf. e.g. fr. 1.5)

Fr. 62 3]τ, ρ also possible.

Fr. 63 Above 1, 1 cm of damaged surface with a few ink specks 1], foot of upright, rather close to the following letter: instead of], ζ,]κ would be possible 3], traces high in the line], upper arc], junction of the top of an upright and a descending oblique with a high dot to the right

Fr. 64

· · ·
·]ε . . . [
·] ι α ψ α γ ι η ς [
·] λ ε ς ς ε π ο ρ . [
·] [
· · ·

Fr. 65

· · ·
·] ς ι ν ε [
·] ε [
· · ·

Fr. 66

· · ·
·] α φ . [
·] ε π λ [
·] . ε π [
· · ·

Fr. 64 1]ε, faint traces of a cross-bar perhaps visible; then a deep upright, the foot of a rising oblique, and a low descender 2], low dot 3 ρ, ϖ not ruled out], left-hand upper arc 4],], top of tall upright; dot at level with letter-tops; small loop high in the line (ρ, ϖ); upper arc; tops of two uprights close together

Fr. 65 1 ε[, or ϑ

Fr. 66 1], lower left-hand arc 3], thick dot on the edge, level with letter-tops; a higher dot, probably a stop, between this letter and ε π[, junction of top of an upright and a horizontal, τ also possible

Fr. 67

· · ·
·] π ν . [
·] α ς . [
·] ν α ς [
·] ν ο ι ς ι [
5] . ν λ α . [
·] . ι π ρ . [
·] . . . [
· · ·

Fr. 68

· · ·
·] . . . [
·] ς μ α [
·] . [
· · ·

Fr. 69

· · ·
·] λ ι δ ε [
·] ο υ ε π [
·] ε δ ε ι ν [
·] ς α μ [
·] . [
· · ·

Fr. 67 1]π, or η], foot of upright slightly inclined to right? 2], foot of upright, followed by dot higher than letter-tops level 5], horizontal joining the top of the first upright of ν λ, τ also possible

6] ., high dot . [, left-hand lower arc 7] . . . [, first a descending oblique, then a rising and a descending oblique (e.g.]λλ,]αλ,]λα), then the top of a taller upright

Fr. 68 1] . . . [, foot of upright with right-hand curl; left-hand lower arc; low dot 2] ς, parts of lower and upper arcs; ς, κ less likely 3] . [, specks high in the line

Fr. 69 1] ., traces on loose fibres 5] . [, traces of upper arc

Fr. 70

.
] . [.
] ε ρ ρ [.
] ο μ [.
] π ο [.
.

Fr. 71

.
] . [.
π [.
φ . [.
λ . [.
5 . . [.
.

Fr. 72

.
] α . [.
] ι α τ . [.
] . κ ε [.
.

Fr. 70 3] ρ, or φ

Fr. 71 1] . [, upright with speck close to right at letter-top level 3] . [, slightly inclined upright 4] . [, foot of upright 5 . . [, junction of descending oblique and rising oblique

Fr. 72 1] . [, foot of upright 2] ς, rather than] η? . [, upright slightly sloping to right and dot possibly belonging to a descending oblique 3] ., end of a slightly rising stroke at half-height (e.g. κ?)

Fr. 73

.
] κ ς [.
] ω [.
.

Fr. 74

.
] . . . [.
] . θ υ [.
.

Fr. 75

.
] . ε γ α [.
] . ε [.
.

Fr. 74 1] . . . [, foot of upright with hook to right; foot of upright (the distance from the other traces suggest τ, γ); foot of rising oblique 2] ., trace of right-hand upper arc

Fr. 75 1] ., dot on the edge, at half-height 2] ., horizontal joining ε: c, τ, ρ

Fr. 76

.
] . β ε . [.
.

Fr. 77

.
] . [.
] ε . [.
] . ε ρ υ ο [.
] . δ . [.
5 stripped

Fr. 78

.
] . τ ι c ι π [.
] υ . . [.
] . [. .] . [.
.

].
].

Fr. 76 1], descending oblique 2], horizontal slightly lower than letters-top

Fr. 77 1], upright with start of horizontal? 2], upright and start of diagonal? 3], speck
4], descending oblique 5], two dots low in the line 6], an upright and, high to its right, a vertical
stroke possibly belonging to a descender from line 6

Fr. 78 1 π, or τ! 2], traces low in the line and foot of upright 3], dot at half-height,
perhaps part of a descending oblique 4], high dot

Fr. 79

.
]ουτ[
]υ.[
].α.[
.

Fr. 80

.
]..
]υ[
]να[
]..
5]..
.

Fr. 81

.
]αρκ.[
].γγν [
]εθαι [
.

Fr. 79 2], left-hand arc 3], horizontal at half-height: τ, τ 4], thick high dot

Fr. 80 1], right-hand arc (or end of descending oblique?); foot of upright (hooked to the left) 2],
lower right arc (ε, c); foot of upright 3], upper right-hand arc; upper junction of two obliques: λ,
α, etc.

Fr. 81 1], foot of upright 2], traces on disturbed fibres

Fr. 82

.
].ου[
]κον[
.

Fr. 83

.
].ρε[
].α[
].
.

Fr. 84

.
]η[
]ακτ[
.

Fr. 82 1], high trace

Fr. 83 1], high horizontal joining ρ ε[or ϑ 2], high and low specks; κ? 3 part of
lectional sign?

Fr. 85

·
·
]βα[
]ιθ.[
]ξ̄ς[
]..[
·
·

Fr. 86

·
·
]πατα[
]πετο[
·
·

Fr. 87

]π[

Fr. 85 2][, a left-hand arc
an upper arc3 ^α, suprascript, in a different hand

4]..[, a horizontal joining

Fr. 87 1]π[, τ also possible.

Fr. 88

·
·
]ϱο[
]ενε[
·
·

Fr. 89

·
·
]ομ[
]χ̄η[
]. [

Fr. 90

]λ̄εδ[

Fr. 91

·
·
]..ε[
]πρϑ.[
·
·

Fr. 89 1]ο, right-hand arc, ω also possible

2]χ̄, τ also possible

3]..[, top of an upright

Fr. 90 1]λ̄, or λ̄.

Fr. 91 1]..,]κ or]̄. ς̄ ε̄, or ϑ̄ 2]π, or η̄ .[, dot at level with letter-tops.

Fr. 92

·
·
].. [̄
]λας[
·
·

Fr. 93

·
·
]χ̄ο[
]. ξ̄ε[
]. γαμ[
·
·

Fr. 94

·
·
].. [̄
]. αλ[
]έι[
·
·

Fr. 92 1].. [̄, traces of lower arc; low horizontal; foot of rising oblique

2]λ, or λ̄

Fr. 93 1]χ̄, or τ̄ ϱ̄, or ϱ̄ 2]̄, perhaps the right-hand end of ω̄ ξ̄, or ζ̄ 3]̄, a horizontal joining the top of χ̄ μ̄, rather than λ̄

Fr. 94 1]̄, [̄, horizontal low in the line, or lower arc; foot of upright and descending oblique (N?) 2]̄, high dot 3]έ̄, a horizontal (cross-bar of ε̄? the cross-bar of ᾱ is usually inclined upward) joining ῑ at half-height: under it, a low dot; the sign above the line may be interpreted also as a rough breathing

Fr. 95

· ·
] . . [
] ω τ [
· ·

Fr. 96

· ·
] . γ α [
] ε κ [
] ε ι [
· ·

Fr. 97

· ·
] ν [
] . [
· ·

Fr. 95 1] . . [, foot of descending oblique; lower left-hand arc

Fr. 96 1] . , high horizontal joining γ

Fr. 97 2 . [, upper arc

Fr. 98

· ·
] . [
] ν [
· ·

Fr. 99

· ·
] χ ν [
· ·

Fr. 100

· ·
] . α χ [
] ν . [
· ·

Fr. 101

· ·
] π ρ [
] ο ι [
· ·

Fr. 98 1 . [, lower arc

Fr. 100 1] . , high horizontal touching α? 2 . [, start of a high horizontal

Fr. 101 2] ο, ι not ruled out ο, ι, upright visible at the right hand edge: perhaps not ink?

Fr. 102

· ·
] . . [
] ε ν [
· ·

Fr. 103

· ·
] . κ α τ [
· ·

Fr. 104

· ·
] υ ς ι τ [
· ·

Fr. 105

· ·
] . ν [
· ·

Fr. 102 1] . , foot of upright, hooked to right . [, lower arc

Fr. 103 1] . , upright.

Fr. 105 1] . , high dot, as of right-hand arc. This fragment may also be read the other way up as] κ . . [: the κ, followed by the foot of an upright, may also be a ν; at the end a left-hand lower arc.

Fr. 106

· ·
] . ρ [
· ·

Fr. 107

· ·
] . [
] γ ο [
· ·

Fr. 108

· ·
] . . [
] φ ε [
· ·

Fr. 109

· ·
] . ε . [
· ·

Fr. 106 1] ., upright

Fr. 107 1] .[, rising oblique, almost upright

Fr. 108 1] ., η? .[, right-hand lower arc

Fr. 109 1] ., high horizontal, joining ε .[, foot of rising oblique

Fr. 110

. .
] . ψ . [.
. .

Fr. 111

. .
] . [.
] . θ . [.
. .

Fr. 112

. .
] . [.
] . . [.
] ε . [.
] . . . [.
5] κ ρ . [.

Fr. 113

. .
] . . [.
] ν τ [.
] κ υ θ . [.
] . [.
. .

Fr. 110 1] ., end of horizontal at middle-height .[, upright

Fr. 111 1] .[, dot on the line 2] ., thick top of upright or part of right hand upper arc .[, lower left-hand arc

Fr. 112 1] .[, speck 2] .[, mid-line horizontal touching tall upright? 3] .[, abraded upright? 4] . .[, rising oblique, mid-line trace, rising oblique 5] κ, or ς .[, tops of upright and of descending oblique?

Fr. 113 1] .[, dot on the line; lower arc 3] .[, upright (rather than flattened right-hand arc?)

Fr. 1

5 This was the last line of Medea's monologue. Cf. A. R. 3.794f. *καί κέν με διὰ στόματος φορέουσαι / Κολχίδες ἄλλυδις ἄλλα ἀεικέα μωμήγονται* (imitating *Il.* 4.411f.), leading to the end of her third monologue. In this context, if Medea has already considered the possibility of helping Jason against his father's will, it is likely that *ἀρήγονται* is used *in malam partem*. At the end of the line the choice is limited to forms of *ὀμόνυμος*, and *ὀμωρόφιος* (Medea fears that after her betrayal nobody would accept her in his/her house?), *ὀμῶς* and *ὄμως*. The last solution might be suitable for a situation similar to A. R. 3.791f., *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς φθιμένη μοι ἐπιλλίξουσιν ὀπίσσω / κερτομίας* (e.g. *ὄμω[ς κατατεθνηύαν?*).

6 At the end of the line the articulation *κατ' ἀν[δ-θ-τ* looks more promising than *καταν[*. It is possible that *λέκτροιο* is governed by *κάτ'* or *καταν-* (some compound verb?); it is however perhaps more likely that the preposition (or a compound verb) might govern a noun in the final lacuna, dependent on *λέκτροιο*. For *λέκτρον* and *κάππεσεν* in 7, cf. A. R. 3.655 *λέκτροισιν πρηγῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθείσα*, after Medea's second monologue (cf. also *κάππεσον/-εν εὐνῆι* in Nonn. *Dion.* 24.331, 25.572, with *λέκτρων* in the preceding line, 34.86).

7 *κεκλι[μῆ]νῆ* seems suited to the context, and, though not certain, is fairly close to the traces: cf. A. R. 3.672 *κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη* (and Nonn. *Dion.* 2.368 *ἄχυντο *κεκλιμένη*). With *κεκλιμένη* a new sentence starts. I assume that the sense of 6–8 was 'After having said so she fell down on the bed: once she lay down she was tormented by anguish; but she was relieved by sleep': cf. A. R. 3.616–17 *κούρη δ' ἐξ ἀχέων ἀδινὸς κατελώφειν ὕπνος / λέκτρῳ ἀνακλιθείσαν* (cf. *Od.* 18.189), picking up Medea after v. 471 (*ἤ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη*) and introducing, as here, her nightmare. At the end of the line *δὲ το[* is perhaps more promising than *δ' ἔτο[*.

8 In 8f. Sleep comes, with a precarious relief for the girl (this is a natural inference from l. 10 *καθυπνώουσα* and the description of the nightmare in the following lines). *βλε[φάροις]* suits the space better than by *βλε[φάροιο]*. This implies that the dative cannot be governed by *κάτα* nor, I think, it is likely that it is by a compound verb

beginning with *κατα*-. So perhaps sleep is here *κατάπτ[ερος, as Νύξ, ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν, is in E. Or. 174–6. Hypnos himself gets wings only after Call. *hy.* 4.234 in extant literature (but cf. the difficult text of A. *Ag.* 426; common after the Hellenistic period, as e.g. in Nonnus and Latin poetry), but much earlier in visual arts; here in particular cf. Meleager *AP* 5.174 (36 GP), 1f. εἴθ' ἐπὶ σοὶ νῦν / ἄπτερος εἰσέκειεν Ὑπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροις; for ἡρέμα in this context cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 24.119 (πτερόν ἡρέμα πάλλων, of an eagle; cf. 25.436). To fill the end of the verse various solutions are available: if a main verb is to be supplied, e.g. ὕπνος ἐπήλθε/ ἐέηε; if the main verb was in the next line, as it is perhaps more likely, one might consider e.g. ὕπνος ἐφίζων. If βλε[φάροιο] is to be preferred (the singular indicates collectively both eyelids, or both eyes, in B. 5.157, 11.17, fairly often in Euripides [cf. Willink ad *Or.* 302], cf. also Agathias, *Aph. Pl.* 109.3), a possible solution might be e.g. βλε[φάροιο] κατά πτ[ερόν ὕπνος ἔρειε- / ἐλιε- / ἐλιε- *vel sim.* (cf. Call. *hy.* 4.234, Nonn. *Dion.* 2.237, 15.88).*

9 I cannot find any convincing reading for the traces at the beginning of this line, where also the fibres are disturbed. The first letter seems to be either τ or γ; it was followed by λ, λ, or Δ, and by a vowel with a circumflex accent (almost certainly γ). This does not, however, produce any acceptable sequence. τὰϛ[ρο]ν would be too large for the gap. The verse may have dwelt on some physical description of Medea's going to sleep, but am not able to find any solution. I had thought of a form of ἴλλω, ἴλλ[ε]ν, with ὕπνος in the gap of the preceding line as a subject. Sleep might be binding Medea, or her sight: the usual verb for this is πεδάω (*Od.* 23.17; *Soph. Ai.* 675; *Pl. Ti.* 71e), and δεσμός and derivatives are used in this context: cf. particularly Mosch. *Eur.* 3f. ὕπνος . . . βλεφάροις ἐφίζων / λυσιμελής πεδάαι μαλακῶι κατά φάεα δεσμῶι (and Bühler *ad loc.*; ἴλλω too is sometimes used in connection with δεσμοί: cf. A. R. 1.129, 2.1249 and *Soph.* fr. 158 R.). On this hypothesis, at the beginning of the line, what I take for the left hand part of τ's horizontal should in fact be part of a diaeresis, but I do not think this fits the traces very well, and, in any case, leaves the ink after the first λ unexplained.

Without a solution for the first word, attempts to restore the second are mere guesswork: ὑπό [επλάγχ]γοισιν would be a possibility (cf. e.g. A. R. 1.1262; Theocr. 7.99 in the same metrical *sedes*, as, with different meaning, in A. R. 4.1109; for its use in erotic context, cf. Headlam ad *Herod.* 1.57, Gow ad *Theocr.* loc. cit., and Arg. *Orph.* 869, of Medea), but it seems slightly too wide, and η is not very promising, since the last stroke before ο is a descender; [κροτά]φοισιν would perhaps more easily fill the gap and suit the trace. At the end of the line a new sentence with a new verb, and Medea as the subject, must start (describing, I suppose, her sleep or her agitation).

10 οἶα καθυπνῶουσα seems unavoidable: cf. A. R. 3.690 *τοῖα κατακνώσσοσα (. . . λεύσσω ὄνειρατα λυγρὰ). The meaning here might have been (she moved here and there in agitation) 'as it happens to a sleeping person, as she was' (cf., in a very similar context, A. R. 3.617f. ἄφαρ δέ μιν ἡπεροπήεσ, / οἶα τ' ἀκηχεμένην, ὄλοοι ἐρέθεσκον ὄνειροι), or (she lay in bed and her body relaxed) 'since she was sleeping; but her mind was troubled'. The only other occurrence of this verb in poetry seems to be in the clumsy hexameters of *Maiistas* l. 16 (p. 69 Powell: *καθυπνῶοντι*, also describing a dream). διὰ κρᾶδίη[ε or κρᾶδίη]ν. I suppose that with these words a new sentence started: '(because: γὰρ?) through her heart worries were violently driving (e.g. her soul)'.

11 *μενθήραι*: the only literary occurrence of this term was in Panyassis (?) fr. 16.16 Bern.; cf. Hesychius (nom. sing. and dat. plur., glossed with φροντίς and μερίμναις) *Et. M.* 580.6 (*μενθήραι· αἱ φροντίδες*: cf. Suid. s.v. *μενθήρες· αἱ φροντίδες*), XXIV 2390 fr. 50(c).17 ff. (and Lobel *ad loc.*). ἀπόπρ[οθ-ε(ν)]/-ι, ἀπό πρ[, or a compound verb beginning with ἀποπρο-. At the end of the line some form of δοκέω might be lost in the gap (e.g. ἀπόπρ[οθεν αἰὲν ἔδοξε, or ἀπό πρ[ο]ν- ἐδόκησεν). The verb κοβέω is not attested elsewhere in epic texts: its use in poetry (with the exception of the Hellenistic tragedian Sositheus, fr. 1.1 *TrGF*) is limited to Comedy and epigram.

12 At the end of the line probably some verbal form beginning with ἐνικ(ατ-?). For αἰ cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.466 ff. (*Dido's dream*) *semperque relinqui/ sola sibi, semper longam incommittata videtur / ire viam* etc.

13 For the article with ξένος cf. A. Svensson, *Der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels in der nachklassischen griechischen Epik* (Lund 1937) 4 (A. R.), 132–6 (Homer).

14 ἀνδροφόνος is used as an epithet of ταῦρος thrice in Nonnus. The possibility that it might refer to another term lost in the gap of the preceding line (after the expected second disjunctive) cannot be ruled out, but none of the nouns attested with this epithet in earlier (e.g. ἡ μελίηις, after [Hes.] *Scut.* 420, and Tyrt. fr. 19.9 West) or later times (e.g. ἡ παλάμηις) is appealing. The high dot after γενετήρος may not have been a punctuation sign, but the remains of a trema, and the syntactical period may therefore continue with the following words.

γενετήρ, frequent with the meaning of 'father' in poetry of the Imperial period, does not seem to be attested before [Arist.] *de mundo* 397 a4 (on which see E. Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis* (Strassburg 1912) 2.57): γενέτειρα, with a following genitive, on the other hand, is attested as early as Pind. *Nem.* 7.2.

15 Probably καί ποὺ τι (for this group of particles, cf. Denniston, *GP* 494 f.).

16 The first letter after the central gap is probably κ. The other readings leave some ink unexplained, and do not offer viable solutions. (If] . is to be interpreted as λ or Δ, metre and space prevent restoring any form or compound of λευκῶς and δεδυκῶς, while ἀ]λυκῶς does not seem very promising;]αυκω[does not offer any probable solution). Some form of κυκῶ should be restored: (ἐ)]κυκῶς[-, or, far more likely,] κυκωφ[μεν-. The 'distracted' form is attested only in the oracle Parke-Wormell 112.4, in this metrical *sedes*, but it may be restored in Nic. *Al.* 25 (κυκαομένη Headlam; MSS are divided between -κοωμ-, -καωμ-, and the manifestly inferior παρακοομένη), and perhaps (Magnelli, *per litt.*) in *Claud. *Gigant.* 72. Position in the line and metre suggest that the word comes just after the caesura so that a compound form is ruled out. Before it, a possible articulation would be -]ρως ε[. . . (.)] (as e.g. βα]ρὺς εἰ[στυ). I cannot find any satisfactory solution with a different articulation: an optative ending in]ρως ε[ι] (optative forms of ἐρύω, ἀερύω, δακρύω are frequent in this *sedes* in Nonnus, but not, as far as I can see, in other epic authors) would be too short to fill the gap.

17 ἀμ]φοτέ[ρω]σε would perhaps fit in the gap (cf. κρωσσοι in fr. 2.18), and, assuming that]σε after the gap must belong to the same metrical word, I cannot think of any other solution.

18–21 Cf. commentary ad fr. 25.

19 ἦι πέλε(ν)

20 μίμν-

21 τ]αυροι. [

22 Some form or compound of πῦρ.

Fr. 2

This fragment, describing Medea's nightmare and her awakening (cf. on 20), is likely to have followed fr. 1 at not too long an interval. Frr. 1 and 2 might come from two consecutive columns. I cannot detect any *kollesis* in fr. 1 (there are vertical fractures after the second/third letter, and at about two thirds across the fragment, but, though the fibres are disturbed, there seems to be horizontal continuity), so that it is likely that a *kollesis* must have followed its right-hand end at a short distance, and the horizontal fibres cannot be of any help.

2 εἰ θ', εἴθ', εἴθ[ε, εἴθ[αρ (in this *sedes*: Hes. *Theog.* 688, A. R. 4.1606, Nic. *Theo.* 547, *Alex.* 517), εἴε[.

6 Traces and space suggest either ὕπν[ο]ς or, perhaps better, ὕπνω[.

7 The aorist optative πλήσειε (*πλήσειαν in *Il.* 16.72) or (in a direct speech?) the future πλήσει.

8 If ἔννεπ. [in 9 marks the end of a direct speech, φεύγ(ε) might conceivably be an imperative, but an imperfect is equally possible. Then either ἐλεη[σ- /μ- /τυ-, or λεη[λατ- /σ-. If the scene depicts Medea's fear for Jason, the first solution looks more reasonable.

9 ἔννεπ[ο]ν, ἔννεπ[ε]ν, or ἐννέπ[ε]ν/ἐννέπ[ο]ν.

10 Possibly ἄφατ[ον, either of πῦρ or adverbial (cf. Bulloch ad Call. *hy.* 5.77).

11 Cf. app.; e.g. καίπε[ρ] χε[ι], καί ποτε [, καί πετε[την- (vel sim.), καί ποτε[ρ-.

13 μερμηρα. [The word, in extant literary texts (Hes. *Theog.* 55, *Theogn. 1325, *IG* XIV 1942, *Greg. Naz. II 1, 1.30), is always plural. It is worth noting that in the lexicographical tradition, it is specifically connected with sleeping (cf. e.g. Hesych. μ 878 s.v. μερμήρα (the paroxytone form, transmitted only here, is prescribed by Hdn. I.260.21 Lentz = Theognostos 107.16, and presupposed also by the plural μερμήραι in Hesych. s.v.) ἢ εἰς ὕπνον καταφορικῆ φροντίς, a 6482 s.v. ἀπομερμηρίσαι· μέρμηρα ἢ εἰς ὕπνον καταφορὰ περὶ τὴν ἔω). This meaning, not relevant for the literary occurrences quoted above, is connected with the ancient explanation of ἀπομερμηρίσαι in Ar. *Vesp.* 5 (sch. 5c: μέρμηρα ἢ μέρμνα καὶ ἡ φροντίς· ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ καθευδῆσαι· οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες ἀποτίθενται τὰς μερίμνας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄρθρον δὲ γίνεται τις ὕπνος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστάσειν ἐλαφρὸς, ὃν τούτωι τῶι ὀνόματι καλοῦσιν; cf. also sch. 5d). The whole lexicographical tradition on the word might well look like guesswork based on the Aristophanic passage (so MacDowell *ad loc.*), but its use in the context of a nightmare, just before Medea's awakening, and with ὕπνος in the preceding line, is probably no coincidence.

15 The bulls' *στόματα* breathe flames: cf. e.g. A. R. 3.231, 410 = 496, and, above all, 1303 ff., where their fiery breath is compared to *στεροπή* (cf. below, on v. 17). Here too, apparently, the flame was the first term of a comparison.

16 *ἐκχέω* may be used of a wide range of objects. Its collocation here, between the description of the bulls and the following comparison, suggests that it may be used of the fire (with e.g. *φλόγα*): cf. Dion. Per. 583 *ἐκκέχεται πῦρ* (v.l.), and Val. Fl. 7.566 (of Aietes' bulls) *ardentes stabula effudere tenebras*.

17 *εἰλυφόων* (in this metrical *sedes*: Nonn. *Dion.* 6.148, 30.81) is used in a comparison at *Il.* 12.156 of the wind rolling along a fire in a wood (the same image, with *εἰλυφάζω*, in 20.492), and of Zeus' *κεραυνοί* at Hes. *Theog.* 692. The object of the verb is *πῦρ* (*Il.* 12.156) or *φλόγα* (20.492 and Hesiod, cf. also Hesych. s.v. *εἰλυφᾶι*); the verb is intransitive in Nonn. *Dion.* 6.148, as it possibly is also in 30.81 and 48.380 (and as *εἰλύφαζε* was in [Hes.] *Scut.* 275, with *κέλας* as a subject). The *Theogony* passage, where the *κεραυνοί* are *ιερὴν φλόγα εἰλυφόωντες*, is the model of the description of the bulls in A. R. 3.1303 *θοῶν φλόγα φυσιόωντες* (cf. also 410 = 496). It is likely that the verb here refers to the deadly fire produced by the bulls. The whirling flame was then compared to a wave, ἄτε κύμα[(α): it may be worth noting that in Dionysius, *Gigant.* fr. 73 *recto* 6 Livrea, *εἰλυφόωσαν* occurs in the context of a sea storm. The comparison with waves is a very common type in epic: Jason taming the bulls is compared to a rock standing firm against the waves in A. R. 3.1293 ff., but there the comparison does not involve the fire/wave motif. Much more similar is Val. Fl. 7.570 ff. *sic* (i.e. like two thunderbolts or two winds) *tunc claustris evasit uterque / taurus et immani proflavit turbine flammam / arduus atque atro volvens incendia fluctu*. At 581 ff. the bulls are compared to waves against a rock: thunderbolts and waves derive from A. R., but the description of vv. 571 f. has no parallel in A. R. and may have been influenced by this passage (*volvens* being a good rendering of *εἰλυφόων*, and *fluctu* of *κύμα*, the use of this word being rather unusual in this context in Latin: cf. A. Perutelli ad 572, where also the possibility that the verse may be an interpolation, or an author's variant for 571, is discussed).

18 The image introduced with *κρωσσοῖο* does not easily fit with the one in 17; since *τόσον* in the next line requires an antecedent, I suppose that we have here a new comparison. The image seems to be that of a liquid poured out of a vessel, and it could be compatible with *ἐκχυμένην* in 16. It is however possible that the *comparandum* is no longer the fire of the bulls: the second half of 19 must have introduced the subject of *ἀνέπαλτο* (20), and the comparison might have involved the description of some psychic process leading to the awakening, just as A. R. in 3.755–60 used the image of the light reflected by the water in a vessel to describe Medea's state of mind.

At the beginning of the verse, space and syntax suggest *ὄς]ζην* (for its correlation with *τόσον*, cf. e.g. *Il.* 16.589–92, A. R. 4.174–6). *κρωσσοῖο* (*Nic. Alex. 502): the noun does not occur at the singular before the Hellenistic age (if 'Erinna' in *AP* 7.710 is Hellenistic), while the Tragedians (5×), like Lycophron (2×), always have the plural. The vessel seems to be relevant (cf. next verse) in its use as a large container of water (for drinking or ritual purposes), a pitcher, as it is in the Tragedians, Lycophr. 1365, Theocr. 13.46, Nic. loc. cit. and fr. 48 Schn., *AP* 9.438, 3 (and, perhaps, Euph. 429 i.14 *SH*). Its most conspicuous function in Hellenistic and later poetry, as a funerary urn, ('Erinna', loc. cit., *AP* 13.12, 8, 9.272, 2 (*κρωσσίον*), Lycophr. 369, [Mosch.] *Megara* 34, epigram in *Vita Pind.* i 3.13 Drachm., Peek *VI.* 2013.1) seems out of place here (on *κρωσσοῖος*, cf. also Breitenstein, *Recherches sur le poème Mégara* (Copenhagen 1966) 45–7).

19 *ἐκ]προχέειν* seems very likely (a poetic verb: cf. LSJ s.v., Livrea ad A. R. 4.605 f.); for the repetition of *ἐκ(-)*, at least thrice in five lines, cf. *κατα-/κατά* in fr. 1. 6–8, at least thrice in three lines, but other solutions are conceivable.

20 The hemistich *ἐκ λεχέων ἀνέπαλτο* occurs in Nonn. *Dion.* 7.156 (*ὑπερφρίσσουσα δὲ κούρη* [sc. Semele after a nightmare] / *ἐ. λ. ἀ.*). The description of brusque awakenings, often as a consequence of a dream, is fairly frequent in Greek and Latin literature, without much variation in phrasing: cf. the copious material collected by Bühler ad Mosch. *Eur.* 16, pp. 61–3 (in particular 61 n. 5; add e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 1.56, **paē.* (= *pros.*) 20.14 f. S. M.). The first occurrence of *ἀνέπαλτο* in this context seems to be Pind. *Ol.* 13.72: cf. also Call. fr. 742 Pf. (?), Q.S. 1.140 (*ἐξ ἐνῆς ἀ.*), Nonn. *Dion.* 29.364 (*), 20.99 (*ἀνεπήλατο*).

Fr. 3

The position of these words in the structure of the line may be determined on the following grounds: (1) in 6 *αχρετος* was probably in the 4th position, or in the 2nd (only if followed by *ἐκχ[υτ', simm.*); a location on

the 5th position is very unlikely, even more so if $\kappa\alpha|\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is read (Herrmann's bridge); other articulations like] , $\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi$ [would fit also in other positions; (2) in 5 and 7 $\pi\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$ may fit best in the 3rd or in the 5th position, if no infringement of Herrmann's bridge is allowed; 5 could in itself also be line-beginning, e.g. $\epsilon\kappa\ \lambda\alpha|\mu\pi\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\nu$ [ϵ (Parsons), trespassing against the far less frequently observed Mcyer's first Law; $\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu$ (7), on the other hand, might be accommodated within the 2nd position only if followed by elided $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, which is hardly appealing; in the 3rd position it would infringe Naecke's law ($\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$ or $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ being the two most likely supplements: the presence of an enclitic seems unlikely here), but it is far from certain that this poet observed the rule; (3) $\tau\epsilon\iota$ in $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$ (9) may be the 3rd, the 4th or the 5th *princeps*: the second case would imply a violation of either Herrmann's bridge or Naecke's law, unless the noun was followed by an enclitic or elided; the first case seems unlikely, because of the alignment with the other verses. On the whole, the likeliest reconstruction seems to be the one entailing the position closest to verse-end.

3 -]η τοῖο δ(ε) or -]η τοιο δ(ε), with the second syllable occupying either the 3rd or the 5th *princeps* (in the latter case, which is favoured by the alignment with the following lines, the first articulation would violate Naecke's law).

4 Various articulations are theoretically possible: e.g.] $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\ \theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\bar{\epsilon}$. [$\sim\sim$ --, \sim] $\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\bar{\epsilon}$. [, or -] $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\ \theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\rho$ [- ($\sim\sim$ -) -]. The trace to the right of ϵ , however, is too distant to suggest a letter other than τ , which would leave us with \sim] $\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\tau$ [\omicron - ($\sim\sim$ -) -, or \sim] $\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\ \tau$ [- ($\sim\sim$ -: this latter only with τ [ϵ , enclitic, to avoid infringing Herrmann's bridge) -].

5 The articulation] , $\pi\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\nu$ [is more likely than the alternative] , $\pi\tau\eta\rho(\acute{\omicron})\ \acute{\omicron}\varsigma(\acute{\omicron})\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\nu$ [. In a description of the enchantment of the dragon a sentence like $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\nu\alpha|\mu\pi\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\nu$ [- is perhaps conceivable: μ , instead of ϵ , is not prima facie the most obvious reading, but it is difficult to find any alternative.

6 The most probable solution seems to be $\kappa\alpha|\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. If the subject was the guardian dragon, the adjective might have been governed by some equivalent of $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omega\iota$, while $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi$ [$\nu\tau\omicron$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi$ [$\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ would suit the description of the relaxation of its body. But this is only guesswork.

7]η $\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu$ may govern the genitive $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta$ [$\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ or go together with the accusative $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta$ [$\acute{\eta}\nu$. The first possibility is somewhat favoured by the occurrence of the *iunctura* $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (of the syrinx) in Nonn. *Dion.* 24.39 (who uses this and other verbal adjectives with a similar metrical shape in a variety of other contexts too). For $-\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$ forms in Hellenistic poetry (here also l. 9), see Magnelli ad Alex. Aet. fr. 4.5 (who for this passage, *per litt.*, suggests $\kappa\eta\lambda$] $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu$, attested only in Hesychius; if the metrical reconstruction tentatively proposed above is correct, it would have been preceded by a prepositive monosyllable such as $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$). Alternatively, e.g. $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\eta\lambda$] $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta$ [$\acute{\eta}\nu$ (cf. Hes. *Op.* 464), which might suit if this is the incantation with which Medea put the dragon to sleep, or $\delta\mu$] $\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta$ [$\acute{\eta}\nu$ (PJP).

8 Almost certainly ϵ] $\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$, followed by $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$ [ν], $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron$ [ν], or $\kappa\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ [ρ -]. If some form of $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ is to be supplied, it may be mentioned that the verb is sometimes used also for musical instruments such as the syrinx mentioned above, on v. 7.

9 The only reading I can think of is $\zeta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$, a word attested in Hesych. s.v. as an epithet of Athena in Boeotia. The goddess is more frequently called $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ in literary and epigraphical sources: cf. Paus. 9.17.3, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* i 31, 128f., 132, 134 (Boeotia: Thebes and Tanagra); *IG* I³ 369, 92 (Attica, Cape Zoster), Paus. 1.31.1 (Attica); Steph. Byz. s.v. $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\eta\rho$ (Epicnemidian Locroi); 319 Schwyzer, *Dial. gr. ex. epigr. pol.* (Delphi), P. Ceccarelli, *La pittura nell'antichità greco-romana* (Roma 1998) 106f. The form $\zeta\omega\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\alpha$ is transmitted in *Lex. rhet.* (Bekker, *Anecd. gr.* i 261).

The word may have been used here too as an epithet of the goddess. Her presence may fit in a scene where the guardian snake was put to sleep. In A. R., who follows Antimachus (fr. 63 Wyss = 73 Matthews; it is possible that some sort of enchantment is obliquely referred to already by Pind. *Pyth.* 4.249 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$), Medea enchants the dragon with songs and magical herbs. In some more ancient version, attested in vase paintings (cf. *LLMC* v, s.v. "Jason", nn. 32 and 36), Jason faced the monster with the aid of Athena. If this was indeed a description of the dragon episode (which is very speculative), the possible mention of a pipe may recall Hermes' role in the Argos episode, on the one hand, and Athena's invention of the *nomos polykephalos* on the other hand.

10 $\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \tau\epsilon\lambda$ [(e.g. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ [$\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\epsilon\lambda$ [$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$]) perhaps more promising than $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \lambda$ [*simn.*

Fr. 4

- 3 Some form of *επινοθήρ* (but A. R. has also *επινοθάριξ*, and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo επινοθαρίξ*).
 4 Some form of the participle *κεκμηώς*.
 5 *κνω[cc-, Κνω[cc-, κνω[δαλ-*.
 6 Forms of this passive aorist or future of *εβέννυμι* do not seem to be used elsewhere in epic texts.

Fr. 12

- 7]πατα ε[(*προςώ*]πατα),]πατασ [, or]πατασ[ε-.
 8 *επο[*.
 9 Some form of *ἤγαγε* (*κατ-*, *μετ-*).

Fr. 13

- 2 δ' ἐνν or -δεγν ν-.

Fr. 14

Metrical position of the fragment: 3 *φαέθοντι* seems fit only for the 3rd *princeps* (the 2nd necessitates a monosyllable ending in -*ἀς* at the beginning of the line; the 4th would break Hermann's bridge; with the 5th it is difficult to imagine an apt supplement for the end of the line: *τεοὺς δέ simm.?*); 4 *ανδρ* may be the 2nd, 4th or the 5th *princeps* (with, e.g., *ἀνδροθύτο[ιλι/ιο*); 5 *στόρθυγγα* may be the 3rd or the 5th *princeps*; 6 *οὐ κε* may have occupied the 2nd, the 3rd or the 5th *princeps* (this word-group, arguably prepositive, is attested before Hermann's bridge only in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.528, an author who does not observe the bridge on several occasions; it occurs, on the other hand, before the third foot caesura in *Il.* 12.447, 15.228, *Od.* 1.236, (in 4.64 the caesura may be postponed to the 4th foot), A. R. 1.1157, 2.986, 4.639; *Il.* 15.228 and A. R. 2.986 are the only two, clearly related, passages where no bucolic diaeresis follows); if *οὐκ* is read, positions 2 and 4 are available; for its possible collocation in the third foot see Bulloch ad Call. *hy.* 5.103; in the fifth foot it would infringe Naeke's law; 7 *αιτωσειε* may represent the 2nd or the 4th *princeps*; 8 the usual position of an adjective like *ὑψιφόρητος* would be at the main caesura, but a collocation between the 4th and the 5th *princeps* may not be ruled out; the simple verbal adjective after the main caesura entails breaking either Naeke's law or Hermann's bridge; its collocation before the caesura, if not preceded by a non-postpositive monosyllable, would break Meyer's first law; 9 the molossian word would fit before the main caesura; if] *ἐπ'* is the preposition, a collocation between the penthemimeral and the hephthemimeral caesuras is also possible.

Taking account of the alignment, the following seems the most likely solution: 3 *φαέθοντι* 3rd *princeps*; 4 *ανδρ* 2nd *princeps*; 5 *στόρθυγγα* 3rd *princeps*; 6 *ουκε* 2nd (or 3rd?) *princeps*; 7 *αιτωσειε* 2nd *princeps*; 8 *φορητος* at the main caesura; 9 molossian word at the main caesura.

3 Either *Φαέθοντι* (an alternative name of Apsyrtos in A. R. 3.245; or the hero, son of the sun, mentioned by A. R. when narrating the Argonauts' adventures in the Adriatic sea, in 4.623; cf. also Eumelos, fr. 8 Bern., 22* West) or *φαέθοντι*. If *τεροῦ[ε (τεοῦ)* is correctly read, someone must be addressed, perhaps in direct speech, rather than in an authorial intervention.

4 *ἐπ' ἀνδροθυτ-* (*harax*). Its occurrence after the possible mention of Apsyrtos in line 3 may suggest the possibility that his murder was described in terms of a human sacrifice.

5 E.g. *μ]έσου,]ε σοῦ,]ε οὐ?* Some form of *στόρθυγγε*, apparently its only occurrence in an epic poem.

6 *ὄν οὐκ ἐδάμασσε* is an obvious possibility; another is *ὄν οὐ κε δαμασσε[ει-*, optative (in epic usage the, not very common, sequence *οὐ κε(ν)* is attested after a relative/anaphoric pronoun), perhaps favoured by the occurrence of an optative in the next line: this solution is possible only if *οὐ* represents the 3rd *princeps* in this line: in the same position, a form such as *δαμάσσατο* would yield the, perhaps desirable, bucolic diaeresis; its position in the 2nd foot, on the other hand, would imply an aorist indicative active form.

7 *χαν[*, presumably some aorist form of *χάσκω*. It may have suitably described the snake's open jaws. A possible alternative might be a sentence like *γαῖα μ'] αἰτρώσειε χαν[οῦσα*, with an elided vowel, if not at line-end.

8 $\psi[\psi\iota]\phi\acute{o}\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (only in Procl. *hy.* 4.14 and Synes. *hy.* 4.36) may be compatible with traces and space, while $\psi[\gamma\rho\omicron]\phi\acute{o}\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (thrice in Nonnus) is too wide for the gap; the simple $\phi\omicron\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is also possible.

9 $[\acute{\alpha}\rho]\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ is possible, though unexpected in an *Argonautica* (but conceivable as an epithet of Heracles; used of Hylas in Theocr. 13.49 [Magnelli, *per litt.*]). $[\acute{\epsilon}\gamma]\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ may represent a viable alternative.

Fr. 16

6 $\acute{\epsilon}(/ \acute{\eta})[\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron[-, \acute{\epsilon}]\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron[-, \text{ or }]\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron[-.$

Fr. 20

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}$ (2) in some form of the singular, or some subjunctive form from $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\nu\acute{\eta}\zeta\omega$ [ι/ν (4), $\kappa\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$. (7). At the end of 5, if the reading is correct (which is far from certain), position and metre would allow only $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\xi$ (for which epic poets seem to prefer $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\acute{\eta}$) and the obscure Hesychian gloss $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$ (a nominative $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$, instead of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$, for a kind of bee, is attested only in sch. Ar. *Nub.* 947), or the monosyllable $\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$ (at the end of the line in Nic. *Theo.* 328, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.308).

Fr. 21

2 $\acute{\epsilon}[\kappa\ \acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon$ [ν is a not impossible reading (for the presence of a second-person form, cf. fr. 14.3). Many alternatives are possible.

Fr. 22

3 E.g. $\chi\alpha$] $\lambda\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}$ δ] [+ cons., but many other articulations are possible ($\lambda\epsilon\pi\alpha\delta$ [ν -,] λ' $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ etc.).

Fr. 23

4 Some form of $\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ or $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$.

Fr. 24

2 $(\acute{\epsilon})\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$.

8 $\acute{\rho}\iota\pi\acute{\eta}\nu?$

Fr. 25

The physical appearance of this fragment is not incompatible with a collocation under the right-hand side of fr. 1.17 (the vertical of the last τ in that line being aligned with the beginning of ϵ in fr. 25.2); cf. Plate V. The text itself does not offer decisive confirmation for such placement, producing something like

$$\begin{array}{l}] \epsilon\nu \pi . [. . .] \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \tau [\\ - \sim \sim] \acute{\eta} \iota \pi \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \nu . [.] \omicron \varsigma \cdot \acute{\upsilon} \pi \omicron \varsigma . [\\ 20 - \sim \sim -] \eta \varsigma \mu \acute{\iota} \mu \nu [. .] \delta \nu \epsilon \pi . [\\ - \sim \sim - \tau] \alpha \nu \rho \omicron \iota . [. .] . [.] . [\end{array}$$

1.20, where the monosyllable $\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ does not seem to be an appealing solution, would break Hilberg's law; before the caesura, a form of $\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\nu$ ending with a diphthong, shortened by the hiatus, would seem unavoidable ($\epsilon\nu$ and $\omicron\nu$ are too long); after the caesura: $\delta\nu \epsilon\pi\tau$].

Fr. 26

3 -] $\delta\omicron\nu\eta(\epsilon)$, perhaps a toponym (as $\mu\alpha\kappa\eta\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}(\epsilon)$, $\chi\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}(\epsilon)$, etc.)?

4 As a proper name, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\psi$ is attested from Homer onwards: if we were dealing with a historical poem (which, as it seems, is not the case) the possible identification with Charops of Epirus might go well together with $\mu\alpha\kappa\eta\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}$ in the previous line. Here, however, it may also be the adjective $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\psi$, attested only in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.114 instead of the more usual $\chi\alpha\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\psi$ is an epithet of Heracles in Boeotia (cf. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia*

ii (London 1986) 3-10). His sanctuary, not far away from Coroneia, was close to the one of Zeus Laphystios where Athamas tried to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle (Paus. 9.34.5), and this may be the right solution if this fragment really belongs to an *Argonautica*. The following letters may be articulated as εὶ λίκε- or as a form of ἐλίεω.

5 various articulations are possible (-accε τω(a), -ac ce, -acc' ε̃τι να-, etc.).

Fr. 33

2 e.g. μ]ήδεcc[ι, πα]γιδεcc[ι (only in Call., *SH* 259.17), νο]τιδεcc[ι *vel simm.*, but other articulations (with -δ²) are conceivable.

3]ναγιον[. If ἄγιον, its occurrence in an epic text of this period is remarkable (cf. also fr. 64.2). In the archaic and classical periods its use in poetry seems limited to Old Comedy, with an occurrence in Simonides (519 fr. 9.6 *PMG*, possibly a paean) and two cases in the epigraphic paeans (Aristonous 24, partial supplement; Athenaeus 10f., with βωμοί as, possibly, in Simonides, and in [Thespis = Heracleides Ponticus?] fr. 4.5 *TrGF*); it very rarely appears in Hellenistic poetry: cf. Call. *h.* 4.275, A. R. 2.908 and Diodorus, *AP* 6.245.5 (i BC - i AD). On its history, see E. Williger, *Hagios: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen* (Giessen 1922) 72-108.

Fr. 35

4 probably],ρα cυν[.

Fr. 36

4]ναεθ[. Some form of ἀεθλ- or cυναεθλ-. It is likely that only one syllable is missing at the end.

Fr. 37

1 (-)βλε]φάρω[- is a possibility (but it does not join to the right of fr. 60.6), along with the less likely ἀφάρωτος, ψαφαρός, ἄφαρος.

Fr. 43

This fragment represents line-ends: at the end of 4 and 5 only a syllable is missing (ἀκου[- but also],να κου[ρ- in 4; in 5 a verbal form πέλε[ρθαι / πέλε[ρθε has a fair chance compared to a noun, πέλε[ραί *vel sim.*).

Fr. 44

2 perhaps some form of κενή.

3 κα]κοξεν[-, or κα]κοξεί[ν-.

Fr. 50

4 Cf. Erinna fr. 401.27 *SH* μετεβάλλετ' ὀπωπᾶν (the word in this form is used at verse end starting from *hom. hym. Cer.* 157 down to Nonnus, who uses it frequently).

Fr. 51

4 -]ει κῶ[ac would be just a guess.

5 ὄccω[ι/-ν or ὄccω[ν, but also]coc cω[.

Fr. 55

1 perhaps -κῆ ἄ-?

2 ἄλcoc.

Fr. 56

1 γ]ελάccας, π]ελάccας, ξ]λαccας,]ελαc cας [.

Fr. 58

2 Compounds of *πάλι* and *νόστ-*, to judge from the TLG, are all late (none earlier than Oppian, *Hal.*): the adjectives are attested in the form *παλίννοστος* (first in Nonnus, several times) and *παλινόστιμος* (first in Oppian, three times in Nonnus: cf. A.W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* (Amsterdam 1970) 151); *παλίννοστος* with a single *ν*, if the editions used in the TLG are to be trusted, seems to occur only in a dodecasyllable Byzantine version of a fable from the Aesopcan corpus (212 *aliter*, 7 Chambry, not guaranteed by metre). So, perhaps, *π]άλι νόστος* (PJP). An alternative articulation as e.g. *εἰν] ἀλὶ νόστος* is conceivable (though I have found no parallels for it nor for similar expressions in hexametric poetry). *ἐς Α[ἶαν* (or *α[ἶαν*) is a possible supplement.

Fr. 61

5 *Φλ]έγγρην?* or] *ῥγγρην,]αγγρην?*

6 -].*ρ() ὑφ' ἐνο-* does not seem to be a promising articulation. *-ε]κρυφεν* is a possibility: such forms are always attested before the bucolic diaeresis (with the exception of Nonn. *Dion.* 44.272).

10 *βων[* looks like the beginning of a word, and in this linguistic context the only alternatives are *βῶν [* (*Il.* 7.238, *Call. hy.* 6.108), and *βωνίτηεν*, attested hitherto only in *Call., Hec. fr.* 35.2 Hollis (v.l. *βουν-*). The possibility that *μ[* may be read (e.g. *ἐ]πὶ βωμ[ῶι* or *βωμ[οῖς*) must be kept in mind.

Fr. 63

2 E.g. *μ]οιρέω[ν*.

Fr. 64

2 *ᾄψ ἀγίης*, though a theoretically possible articulation (see also on fr. 33.3), is not particularly attractive. Perhaps better *διὰ ψαγίης*, with an adjective attested only in *Pind. Nem.* 7.69 (*ψάγιον ὄαρων*), to which Hesych. s.v. *ψάγιον* is likely to refer.

Fr. 69

2 possibly *-]ου επ[-*, but e.g. *λ]οῦε π[-* cannot be ruled out.

Fr. 81

1 E.g. *ς]αρκίς*, or something like *ποδ]αρκη[-*, more probable than *ν]άρκη[* (Magnelli).

Fr. 113

3 *ς]κυθί[* is one among several possibilities.

G. B. D'ALESSIO

4713. HEXAMETERS

87/315(a)

c.13.6 × 10 cm

Second century
Plate XI

Two fragments, almost touching, make up the upper part of a column of hexameters, written across the fibres. Some traces at the lower left edge may represent line-ends from the preceding column; they are obscured by superimposed vertical fibres, perhaps a repair-slip. The front contains remains of writing in two different hands: it seems that an account was written first in a large script in two columns; later, in the empty space between the columns, a minute cursive hand wrote a dozen or so lines, apparently a letter (*ερρ^ω σε ευχο^μ* can be read in the last line).

The hexameters are written in a practised informal round and upright hand, bilinear except for φ. Comparison with *GLH* 15b (145/6) and *GMAW*² 33 (ii; assigned) suggests a date in the second century. Punctuation is by high stop (4, 6). There are no other lection signs in evidence, with the possible exception of an acute accent in 5; elision is not marked (4, 6). Iota adscript is written (5 εηιι). The upper margin was at least 2 cm; likewise the *intercolumnium*.

There is both narrative in the past tense and direct speech; and if ἐγώ is to be recognised in 2, as seems likely, the narrative is in the first person. The situation is not altogether clear. Speculatively, we may envisage a scene describing resistance to a proposal to cut down something (a grove of trees?). The speech urging restraint will start with line 4, and we will have the following structure: (i) 1–3 past first-person narrative: the speaker ordered (his men) to cut down (the grove?); but X held them back; (ii) 4 ff. X's speech (unless the narrator changed his mind after X's opposition), advocating caution, since the grove may be an ἄγαλμα θεῶν; he sees ivy, bay, an extraordinary pine-tree.

The object of the 'cutting' in line 2 (ταμνέμεν or τάμνε μέν) does not have to be trees (the immediate context appears to be martial; cf. 1 n.); there is no indication that trees are involved until the ivy and bay of line 6 — plants moreover that normally stand for Dionysus and Apollo respectively rather than characterizing a sacred grove (see 6–7 n.); there is no actual mention of a grove. Nevertheless, the scene may have some affinity to the tale of Erysichthon told in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 8.738 ff. (see A. Henrichs, *BASP* 16 (1979) 85–92). Armies on campaign ravaged vegetation in sacred groves, e.g. Herodotus 6.75 (mad king Cleomenes), Thuc. 4.90 (see B. Jordan and J. Perlin, in *Studies Presented to S. Dow* (Durham, NC 1984) 158). Lucan describes a sacred grove (*lucus*) of the Gauls, the opposite however of a *locus amoenus*, whose trees Caesar orders felled to build a siegework (*BC* 3.399 ff.; cf. Hunink *ad loc.*). If this is on the right lines, it is interesting to have the first-person narrator cast in the role of the violator. There is nothing to show whether or not the warning was effectual.

The versification shows none of the metrical refinements of the Callimachean hexameter, but seems far from amateurish. The mannered structure of 6 is notable, and ἐρυκανάασκε (3) is not the product of an inexperienced composer.

... τ... γ. βελεμναπ... [] απ... [] εσορου. []
 ... ικα... καλ. [] ... εγω... ε... [] γανωγο []
 ταμνεμενεγχ. [] μφθεν. ασε. [] . α. αακκεδε. []
 φραζωμεσθαφιλοι· βουληδεπι. [] σιναριστη
 5 μηδε. ἐ [] τοδεηιθιθεωνεξ. [] οναγαλμα
 κ. ςς. ντοιλε. ςςω· λευςσωδε. αλδεαδαφνη. ·
 ευδεπι [] . στοιτητηνου. εκε [] . ειδοκομο. φ []
 εστ. [α.6] ηνε. εκαιειθεο [] αυ [] ος. [] . [] ω []
 ηλ [α.7] επασιναριφραδ [] . []

10 [c.5] . cηι οcβ . [
υλο [c.7] . ργ . . . ν [. .] ρ [
και . . [c.7] τ [
κ . . . [c.7] μo [
τ . . . ν [
15 δ [
. [

1] . τ . . . γ . , ink speck at lower line level; short, stocky τ; top half of an upright, η, ι, etc.; indeterminate traces, one or two letters; then, stubby right-hand arc or upright; τ, π is not excluded; a break in the papyrus, on the other edge, vestigial speck close to base-line of β, α? π . [, lower left tip of α? π . [, τ! perhaps not excluded
2 . . . ζ, first two minimal specks; then a short horizontal running into an upright above the middle, τι, ρι, η
α . . , traces either side of hole, the second a shortish upright λ . [. . . : λ, μ possible; then a hole, with speck on either edge, followed by the left half of a circle embracing a small hole, c[ι] possible; then ν or conceivably ω
]ε . . . : long horizontal on the line, Δ?, β possible; a break in the papyrus, on the other edge there is ink that may belong to another letter; upright with small loop attached to the top, ρ?; then indeterminate traces of two letters
]ν, αι is unlikely 3 cε . [, ρ? fin., π or γ 5 ε . ξ, two indistinct traces, then a short horizontal at mid-line level, with what appears to be an acute accent above]τ, γ, π also possible οδε, Δ corr. from τ by m. 1
6 final high stop uncertain 7] . , vertical with stroke joining from left in middle, γ possible . ε, left extremity of possible baseline on edge of hole, suggesting Δ, λ, λ between ο and φ[, lower part of longish upright, ρ?
8 . [, small hook high in the line, α, ω, ρ? 9 λ[, or perhaps μ, ν] . [, Δ, α, λ? 10] . ζ, only the cap of c remains, π or τ also possible . . . οc, possibly Δ!οζ . [, Δ?, λ? 12 . . [, possibly το . []τ[, or π, γ 13 . . [, damaged traces, first back of α?, but λ not excluded?, then Δο[suggested (κα[ι]δο[?])
14 τ, or perhaps π (πρoνν[? less likely πρoνν[) 16 . [, left tip of crossbar, τ or π

. .] . τ . . . γ . βέλεμνα π . [. . .] απ . [. .] . εc ὀρους [αν
αὐτίκα . . καλ . [] . . . ἔγω . . ε . . . [.] ν ἄνωγο [
ταμνεμεν ἐγχε[ι] μφθέντας ἐρ[ν] κανάασκε δε . [
φραζώμεσθα, φίλοι, —βουλή δ' ἐπὶ π[ᾱ]σιν ἀρίστη—
5 μὴ δε . ξ [] τόδ' ἔημι θεῶν ἕξα[ιτ]ον ἄγαλμα.
κιςσόν τοι λεύσσω· λεύσσω δ' εὐαλδέα δάφνην·
ἐν δὲ πί[τ]υς τοίη τὴν οὐδεκε[.] ειοκομο . φ[
εστ . [c.6] ηνε . ε καὶ εἰ θεὸ[ς] αὐ[τ]ὸς . [. .] ω[
ηλ[c.7] ε πάσιν ἀριφραδ[.] . [

' . . I (?) ordered (them) to approach and cut, but [] was restraining (them): "Let us take thought, friends—deliberation is best in all things—in case this may be a special adornment of the gods. Indeed, I see ivy; I see well-grown laurel; and among them is a pine such that (no woodcutter (?) could fell it, even if the god himself commanded??) . . . conspicuous to all . . ."

1 βέλεμνα, whether or not throwing-spears, must be missiles. At line-end ὄρους[αν seems likely, preceded by a participle (cf. *Il.* 16.258), or possibly an adverb. πάντες (π. ὄ., *Od.* 10.47 same position, *Il.* 12.83, Nonn. *Dion.* 37.88) might be tried, but would be a little long for the space, and the low ligature joining ε from the left does not suggest τ. The articulation βέλεμν' απ- is not excluded.

The context is probably martial, though in Nonnus, trees (πέυκη, πίτυς, δάφνη) are attacked by the Indians under Dionysiac influence (ἐξείης δ' ἐπέπηκτο ταυνοπόρθοις ἐνὶ δένδροις / Ἰνδῶν πυκνὰ βέλεμνα 17.337–9; cf. 15.44–51, 60–63) and they serve as practice targets for Dionysus' archers (24.139–42, πτελέη, ἐλαίη, πίτυς, πέυκη).

2 E.g. ἀϋτικά τ[ο]ῖς ἀλλ[ο]ῖς[ι]ν could suit the remains (cf. *Il.* 9.417), but τ[ο]ῖς would be too wide. If ἐγὼ is right, then ἄνωγο[ν] at the end. What came in between is unclear: perhaps a participle agreeing with ἐγὼ (ἐγώγε is too short).

3 ταμνέμεν rather than τάμνε μὲν seems indicated; 'I gave orders to assault and cut'.

ἐρ[υ]καγάασκε δε. [Epic authority for ἐρκακάνω, as distinct from ἐρκακάνω, is given by *Od.* 1.199 ἄγριοι, οἳ που κείνον ἐρκακάνωσ' ἀέκοντα (after 197 κατερύκεται); taken up by Quintus Smyrn. (12.205, 4.105, 7.318, all same position). Cf. ἰχανάω alongside ἰχάνω—perhaps particularly pertinent in light of the form ἰχανάασκον *Il.* 15.723.

At line-end, the traces suggest τ or π; a name or perhaps δ' ἔπεσσι, δὲ πάντας, etc. δὲ κείνος (δ' ἐκείνος) is difficult palaeographically. Unless τάμνε is imperfect, there must be a change of subject. It appears that the verb leads straight into direct speech.

4–5 'Let us take thought, friends—deliberation is best in all things—lest this be a special adornment of the gods'.

φραζόμεθα. Speech beginning. The speech may continue to or beyond the end of the fragment. In Homer, this exhortation in the first person usually comes some way into a speech rather than opening it (except *Od.* 17.274). (The second-person forms, on the other hand, often open a speech, cf. e.g. Hera to Poseidon and Athena (*Il.* 20.114), Apollo's warning to Diomedes (*Il.* 5.440), Achilles to his horses (*Il.* 19.401).) Here, it is conceivable that the first-person narrator is quoting his own speech, but the change in opinion seems too abrupt.

φράζομαι . . . μῆ c. subj.: fear or threat is always present in this Homeric construction, cf. *Il.* 5.411, 15.163, 16.446, 22.358, *Od.* 17.595 (Monro, §281). The form φραζόμεθα occurs twice in Homer, *Il.* 9.112, *Od.* 2.168, both same position. The second person φράζεσθε occurs with φίλοι at *Il.* 18.254 (speech-opening) and A. R. 2.423. φίλη may be possible palaeographically but would be startling. At the beginning of line 5, μῆ δὲ τ[ο]ῖς τὸ δ' could do (cf. *Od.* 24.491, 13.421, and Denniston, 552), but is grudgingly accommodated by the traces. The apparent accent is unaccounted for; it does not seem to be a supralinear correction.

βουλή δ' ἐπὶ π[ᾶ]σιν ἀρίστη. Cf. Hes. *WD* 694, μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος, again at Theog. 1.401 μηδὲν ἄγαν ἐπέυδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος. For the sentiment with βουλή, cf. Theog. 1.1054 βουλή δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει (~ 633 βουλευούσιν δις καὶ τρίς, ὃ τοί κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθη).

5 θεῶν ἕξα[ι]τον ἄγαλμα. The Wooden Horse becomes a μέγ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτῆριον in the *Odyssey* (8.509). Plants and trees may be ἄγαλμα of a god, and there is no reason a grove should not be referred to in the same sort of way (cf. Nic. fr. 69 φηγοὶ Πανὸς ἄγαλμα, Q. S. 1.627, Nonn. *Dion.* 7.328, 9.241, Eur. *Hec.* 458–61).

In Soph. *OC* (16f.) Antigone guesses a place to be sacred (ιερός) from the proliferation of bay, olive, and vine (δάφνης ἐλαίας ἀμπέλου), plus nightingales (cf. 10 ἢ πρὸς βεβήλοισι ἢ πρὸς ἄλκεσιν θεῶν).

6–7 κισσόν τοι λεύσσω· λεύσσω δ' εὐαλδέα δάφνην is an elegantly constructed line. ε[υ]- could be scanned disyllabic if preferred.

εὐαλδής is unhomeric; of φῦκος at *APIX* 325.2 (Gow–Page, *HE* 3896ff.) and of Hippocrene in Aratus (1.217); εὐαλδέϊ βόθρῳ Nonn. *Dion.* 17.84 (same position).

At first blush, we would imagine ivy and bay to have special reference to Dionysus and Apollo, but the pine-tree (πίτυς) of the following line complicates the picture and suggests that they do not have such particular significance. The πίτυς is especially notable for its pastoral associations (Theoc. 1.1, Hopkinson on Call. *H.* 6.27, Hor. *c.* 2.3.9 with N.-H.'s note. The tree, in her anthropomorphic form, becomes a beloved of Pan (e.g., Theoc. *Syrinx* 4 with Gow's note, Prop. 1.18.20, Longos 2.7.39, Nonn. *Dion.* 16.363, 42.259 *et passim*). All three—ivy, bay, pine—frequently appear in descriptions of the *locus amoenus*. The Cyclops' cave in the *Odyssey* is framed by δάφνησι and πίτυσσι (9.183ff.), in Theocritus by δάφνησι and κισσός (11.45ff.). In Nonnus' nature scenes, the pine is often

found in conjunction with δάφνη (12.133–5, 21.103f.; personified together at 2.94ff., 16.363) and sometimes with κικκός (12.314). It is also one of the trees, the first mentioned, that grow in Demeter's grove in Call. *H.* 6: ἐν πίτυς, ἐν μεγάλοι πετέλαι ἔσαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ὄχραι, / ἐν δὲ κατὰ γλυκύμαλα. Priority can hardly be determined, but I would guess belongs to Callimachus.

Other associations with πίτυς seem less important here (cf. *Der neue Pauly*, s.v. Föhre). The pine is the subject of a symposiastic discussion at Plut. *Mor.* 675d–677b. Victors in the Isthmian games were at one time crowned with the πίτυς (cf. Aesch. fr. 78c.39. Radt, schol. A. R. 3.1240, Call. *Aet.* fr. 59.5 with Pfeiffer's note). The association with Poseidon was thought to derive from the wide-spread use of both the pine-wood itself and the pitch in ship-construction (cf. Teodorsson's notes on *Mor.* 618ab, 676c). The πίτυς was moreover sacred to Dionysos because either the tree or the pitch improved wine (Plut. *Mor.* 675e with Teodorsson's note), and the pine-cone formed the head of the thyrsus. In Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*, Marsyas was flayed on a πίτυς (301–4). From Roman sources, we learn that the pine (= πίτυς, John Lydus, *de Mens.* iv.59) was sacred to Cybele, because Attis is said to have fallen asleep or castrated himself under one (see H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen 1903) 110, 114, 150; Attis becomes a pine according to Ovid *Met.* 10.104; cf. Bömer's note ad loc. Aeneas' ships were built from Cybele's pines, Virg. *Aen.* 9.77, 10.220).

All three plants here (κικκόν, δάφνην, πίτυς) are in the singular; cf. the woods on Calypso's island, ὕλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθώσα / κλήθηρη τ' αἰγυειρός τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος (*Od.* 5.63f.).

7f. Cf. *Il.* 13.390 ἡὲ πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὔρει τέκτονες ἄνδρες. The πίτυς pine is noted for its height, coastal habitat (φιλήνεμος, Alciphron 2.9.1), rustle in the wind (Theoc. 1.1, Mosch. fr. 1.8, Nic. *Alex.* 301f.), use in ship-building (Plato, *Laws* 705c), suitability as a garden tree (Verg. *Ec.* 8.65), etc. (see *RE* XX 2, s.v. Pinie). According to Herodotus (6.37) the πίτυς once cut down does not grow back again. The point of the relative clause is not clear (cf. the description of αἰγυειρός at Call. *H.* 6.37f., ἐλάτῃ at *Q. S.* 1.625–7). A negative seems inescapable, but not οὐδέ unless also κε(ν). The end of 7 has proved intractable. A compound in -μορφος was initially attractive (e.g. εἰλικόμορφος, Opp. *C.* 2.98), but -ιοκο- cannot be accommodated. Hardly [γ]ειοκομοί (Hsch.); nor do κε[ρ]εῖ (violating Hermann's bridge), ἐ[μ]εῖο, etc. seem to help. If the relative clause continues beyond 7, perhaps an optative, -]ήνε[ι]ε, in 8, in conjunction with οὐδέ κε(ν), 7. (The *harpax* λειοκόμος could perhaps be considered—C. Meliaddò.)

8 καὶ εἰ θεὸ[ε] ἀν[τ]ός[ε]. [. .]ω[ε]: cf. *Od.* 13.292, A. R. 1.470, *Q. S.* 3.77.

9 πᾶσιν ἀριφραδ[-]: cf. Opp. *C.* 2.506 ναὶ μὴν ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν ἀριφραδὲς ἔπλετο σῆμα; 3.381 σῆμα δ' ἐφημερίοισιν ἀριφραδὲς ἐρρίζωται.

11 ὑλοτόμοι the most obvious, but ὑλονόμοι or something more recherché is possible. εργ- later in line? After γ, ο ω ε.]εργον[ε] or]εργον[would be possible.

J. YUAN

4714. LATE HELLENISTIC OR IMPERIAL HEXAMETERS

88/260

Fr. 1 6.9 × 11 cm

Third century
Plates X–XI

Forty-nine fragments from a roll, written along the fibres; back blank. The lower margin was at least 3.2 cm (fr. 4).

The copyist writes a sloping mixed hand, in which the down-strokes of ρ, τ, γ and φ, the left lower arm of κ and sometimes the initial curve of λ descend well below the line. I would compare this specimen with II 223 (Roberts, *GLH* 21a) and assign it to the third century.

Iota adscript occurs in fr. 1.19 and ?46.2 but is not used in fr. 1.15 and ?2.7. Elision is marked in fr. 13.4 and 14.3. There is no example of *scriptio plena*. The middle point in fr. 20.2 could be a punctuation mark or follow a suprascript addition (cf. fr. 13.4). The original copyist is responsible for most of the numerous suprascript letters, which represent either corrections or *variae lectiones* (fr. 1.3, ?3.2, 10.9, 19.4, ?22.3). He effected two deletions (fr. 7.8, 10.4). In fr. 13.4 he apparently crossed out some letters and certainly inserted a suprascript correction (preceded and followed by a high point). He produced corrections *currente calamo* in fr. 1.2 and ?22.2. In fr. 38.1 he probably rectified the omission of a letter by inserting it within the main text.

Additions by one or more later hands are to be found in fr. 10.8 (suprascript letters) and 29.3f. (marginal note). Fr. 30.2 is written in a peculiar way, perhaps by a different hand. In the smaller scraps I could not account for two interlinear signs (fr. 10.4, 43.2), which seem to be due to the original scribe. A symbol is possibly used in fr. 29.3.

Fr. 1 and 6 and perhaps fr. 8 and 47 deal with the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The two groups are expressly mentioned in fr. 1.9; the name of the Lapith Dryas occurs in fr. 6.3. Words referring to war and grief are found in many verses of fr. 1 (?3, 5, 6, ?7, 8, 10, 12–17) and in two verses of fr. 6 (4, 6). Ancient sources inform us that the Lapiths used spears as their weapons, whereas the savage Centaurs brandished tree trunks and branches: see here fr. 1.15, 6.6 (Lapiths), 1.11, ?8.7 (Centaurs). ἀγριότης (fr. 1.14) is a characteristic feature of the Centaurs. Lapiths perhaps appear also in fr. 47.4.

Fr. 2 presents a different subject. Heracles seems to be mentioned in v. 3. In v. 6 we read the name of Andromeda's mother Cassiepeia, who offended the Nereids and caused her daughter's exposure to the sea monster: it can be surmised that, immediately afterwards, the poet told how Perseus saved (v. 7) and helped (v. 9) Andromeda by killing the κῆτος. It is possible that also fr. 5 and 9 belong to this part of the poem: in fr. 5.3 we find perhaps the rock to which Andromeda was tied; the words ὑβρις (fr. 9.2) and θάλασσα (?fr. 9.7) would be appropriate for Cassiepeia's arrogance and Andromeda's ordeal.

It is not certain that the myths of the Lapiths and the Centaurs on the one hand and of Cassiepeia and Andromeda on the other were somehow connected here in a single poem. If they were, we may wonder whether the likely mention of Heracles in fr. 2.3 can be taken as a link between the two sections, since this hero fought against the Centaurs after their battle with the Lapiths (cf. [Apollod.] 2.5.4). But then why should Heracles be named just before the story of Cassiepeia and her daughter? Can Heracles be relevant to this myth just because Perseus was his great-grandfather on both his mother's and his stepfather's sides (genealogies: Perseus–Electryon–Alcmena–Heracles; Perseus–Alcaeus–Amphitryon–Heracles) or because the legend of Perseus and Andromeda resembles very much that of Heracles and Hesione?

If we assume that the hypothetical link between the two stories was not Heracles' fight against the Centaurs, we may imagine other possibilities. I have thought of two:

1) After rescuing Andromeda from the monster, Perseus wants to marry her but must beforehand engage battle with her suitor Phineus: eventually Perseus petrifies Phineus and

his followers by means of the Gorgon's head. This nuptial struggle resembles the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, which took place during the wedding of the Lapith Peirithoos and Hippodameia, when the drunken Centaurs tried to rape the Lapiths' women but were defeated. It may be relevant that Ovid (*Met.* 4.663–803 and 5.1–249; 12.210–535) presents the two episodes in very similar terms (see Bömer's commentaries: II 231 f., VI 79 f.). Of course this reconstruction does not account satisfactorily for the likely mention of Heracles in fr. 2.3.

2) In the pseudo-Hesiodic *Ἀσπίς*, the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs and the struggle between Perseus and the Gorgon are both represented on Heracles' shield (vv. 178–90 and 216–37). It is possible that our poem offered a similar pattern. This reconstruction would have the advantage of explaining why Heracles was probably mentioned in fr. 2.3. Besides, fr. 1.1–3 deal with craftsmen and hammering; a shield appears probably in fr. 1.7 and perhaps in fr. 8.9;]ήλασε[in fr. 1.6 may also be referred to forging (but these verses would also suit a different interpretation: see on fr. 1.1–3). The weak point of this reconstruction is the use of the aorist in fr. 1, 2 and 6: when a poet describes the scenes represented on a shield, we would expect him to employ the imperfect (as at Hom. *Il.* 18.491–605, [Hes.] *Scut.* 144–317, Quint. Smyrn. 5.3–101, 6.200–93 and Nonn. *Dion.* 25.417–561).

The poet's style is basically Homeric: a very close Homeric imitation may be responsible for a metrical inaccuracy in fr. 1.14; Naeke's bridge is perhaps infringed in fr. 1.9 and 1.14 (this is frequent in Homeric poems, but sometimes occurs e.g. in Aratus, Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus: see West, *Greek Metre* 154 f.). Nevertheless some features are not to be found before Hellenistic or Imperial epic, as regards vocabulary (fr. 1.15), phraseology (fr. 1.7, 1.15, 6.6) and morphology (fr. 1.13); a verb is possibly used in its post-Homeric sense at fr. 2.9. Therefore the composition could be assigned to the first century BC or to the first or second century AD.

FR. 1

	] . τε . . ονε . [. .] . ρες [	. . . . .] . τέκτονες [ἄν]δρες [
	] . νγαμπτοις [.] ἐπιδο . [	. . . . .] . ν γγαμπτοις [.] ἐπιδο . [
	] σινραϊστηριβιηδεπι ^{τε}[	. . . . .] σιν ραιστηῆρι βίη δετε[
	] . ωνσυμφορτοςσηνκτ[	. . . . .] . ων συμφορτος εην κτ[
5	] . πολυδακρυ . ανακλ[	. . . . .] . πολυδακρυ . ἀνακλ[
	] τουπολεμοιο . [.] ηλασε[	. . . . .] του πολέμοιο . [.] ήλασε[
	] . επλατυσωμος [.] . . ασπ[	. . . . .] . ε πλατυς ὤμος [.] . . ασπ[
	] . . δανδρομοειοκορεσσα . [	. . . . .] . . δ' ἀνδρομέοιο κορέσσατ[ο
	] . τικενταυρωνλαπιθα . . . [	. . . . .] . τικ Κενταύρων Λαπιθα . . . [
10	] επ . . . πληξασκορυθοςλοφ[	. . .] επ . . . πλήξασ κόρυθος λόφ[ον

	] πευκηςμεγανοζονεπικ.[	..] πεύκης μέγαν ὄζον επικ.[
	] νθαδεσυμπεσετηνα..δ..[	ἔ]νθα δὲ συμπεσέτην α..δ..[
	] .μενπεπληγοντεςεπας.υτ.[	ο]ί μὲν πεπλήγοντες ἐπαςυτε[ρ-
	] αγριονκαιαλαστονε....[	ἄγριον καὶ ἄλαστον ε....[
15	] ιδαρυπεγχειησιδιασταδον.[	ο]ί δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἐγχείησι διασταδὸν .[
	] .τισηεταρουπεριδειδιε.[	...].τις η ἑτάρου περιδειδίε .[
	] ντεςδακρυοεντοσακηδ[	...].ντες δακρυόεντος ἀκηδ[
	] . . . . .υμε[...].οιανεμον[	...]. . . . .υμε[...].οιανεμον[
	] εμερηιοτετικατ.[	.... χ]ειμερίηι ὅτε τις κατ.[
20	] τεκνεφεωνκατα.[	.....]τ' ἐκ νεφέων κατα.[

1], faint spot level with the horizontal of π on edge 2], probably lower part of κ; descender as of ρ, τ, Υ, φ 3], flat trace at line level 4], α or Δ 5], upright with stroke joining on left near the top (η rather than ι) 6], the second ν has been converted *currente calamo* from μ 7], indistinguishable spots of ink on edge, ranging from top to bottom of the line, followed (on stripped fibres) by spot at mid-height above flat trace at line level 8], high trace, perhaps tip of up-stroke to right 9], top of upright 10], υ, c or η 11], ι, a speck of ink not accounted for projecting from the upper left-hand part of letter 12], (damaged fibres), two spots one above the other, one level with letter-tops and the other at line level 13], spot on edge at line level 14], descender as of ρ, τ, Υ, φ; middle part of upright followed by two dots, one high and one at line level 15], high horizontal (τ?); upright (probably ι) 16], (stripped fibres), dot just below top of α on edge, perhaps tip of horizontal 17], foot of upright 18], spot at mid-height followed by curved trace at line level (one or two letters represented); angular trace at line level (with apex upwards and slightly curved right-hand stroke) and high trace 19], thick flat trace at line level; high and medial spots followed by down-stroke to right; upright 20], faint spot at mid-height on edge 21], α., curved down-stroke to right from top to middle of the line, followed by spot at mid-height (μ suggested); trace at line level, perhaps part of upright 22], foot of upright; lower left-hand part of circular letter 23], higher part of upright 24], left-hand part of ε or c 25], trace on edge, ranging from top to bottom of the line 26], upright followed by tip of up-stroke to right level with the letter-tops (κ?); angular trace (apex upwards), suggesting α or λ; foot of upright touching the lower tip of the previous letter; probably right-hand part of η 27], faint traces just below the line on edge (delusory?) and on stripped fibres a spot above the line and another at mid-height 28], tip of down-stroke to right touching the horizontal of τ, e.g. ε 29], traces on edge (mid-height and line level) 30], (damaged fibres), tip of upright; high trace of confused ink; top of thick curved up-stroke to right; top of upright; perhaps diagonal and right-hand upright of η 31], faint trace at line level on edge 32], π or γ (if γ, after it another letter represented by trace ranging from top to bottom of the line on edge)

Fr. 2

]. . . []. . . [
	] μοσηρ[	] μοσηρ[
	] ηρακλ[	] Ἡρακλ[
	] . ησειοιλιπ[	] . ησειοιλιπ[
5	] εςμοναν . [	] εςμοναν . [

	]κακκιεπε[	]Κακκιεπε[ι-
	]ησιαωσα.[	]ησι αωσα.[
	]ασηγαγεπ[	]αc ἡγαγεπ[
	]αρηξαι[	]ἀρηξαι[
10	]εγανιη[	]εν ἀνίη[
	]...ν.[	]...ν.[
]..[]..[

1]...[, short up-stroke to right at line level; foot of upright; spot at line level
 line level on edge 5]...[, left-hand part of loop (perhaps ο) 7]...[, speck at line level 8]...[, spot
 just below letter-tops on edge 10 η, not κ 11]...[, down-stroke to right (λ, Δ, λ suggested); perhaps
 ο; high trace, perhaps tip of up-stroke to right]...[, trace at line level, perhaps part of upright 12]...[
 right part of high horizontal (ξ or τ); confused trace on edge, ranging from top to middle of the line

Fr. 3

Fr. 4

Fr. 5

	]ατηρε.[	]..[	]ατευν.[
	]ελειν.[	]αλλ[	]πημαπρ[
	]ση...[	]ν.αρ.α...[	]νεπισκοπε[
	]ουc.α.[	]βορεωνεονα.[	]γαςθενε...[
5	]ηογε.[	]αιριπησυ[]...[
	]εμυχουc[	foot	
	]τοκα.[
	]κδιε[
].....[
10	]...νε.[
	]ορχη[
	]ηλα.[
	]..ε[
]..[

Fr. 3 1]...[, foot of upright followed by trace (part of horizontal?) at mid-height 2]ε, thick horizontal
 above: part of a suprascript letter?]...[, left-hand part of ε or c 3]...[, trace at mid-height, perhaps right-
 hand arc]...[, foot of upright; dot just above mid-height followed by upright; dot just above mid-height and
 trace ranging from middle to bottom of the line on edge 4]...[, descender as of ρ, τ, γ, φ c, γ or τ]...[
 λ or μ 5]...[, upright]...[, high dot 6]...[, high dot above υc a high trace, perhaps belonging to
 the previous line 7]...[, spot level with the horizontal of τ]...[, lower part of upright followed by spot at line

level (perhaps ι followed by another letter) 8].., thick dot at mid-height; top of upright 9].....[(damaged fibres), two remains of ink at mid-height; perhaps foot of upright; perhaps lower part of thick upright; curved up-stroke to right at mid-height; probably λ or λ; lower part of upright 10]... , high curved horizontal; descender below two dots above the line (γ suggested); perhaps top of circular letter with a spot of ink at mid-height (ε?); foot of upright . [; foot of up-stroke to right 11].., spot of ink at line level followed by right-hand tip of down-stroke to right joining an upright 12].., perhaps μ . [; faint spot just above line level on edge 13].., perhaps ε; perhaps π 14].. [; upright; right-hand arc intersected by a short down-stroke to right

Fr. 4 1].. [; horizontal at mid-height followed by lower part of upright (τ?); lower part of up-stroke to right (λ suggested) 2].., trace at line level followed by thick dot at mid-height (perhaps section of diagonal descender to left) 3].., high spot followed by cross-bar (?) joining an upright υ., φ or ψ ρ., foot of up-stroke to right followed by foot of upright (μ?) ... [; lower part of ε or c; foot of up-stroke; flat trace at line level 4].., faint traces on edge (dot at line level followed by shadowy up-stroke to right at mid-height and high spot), perhaps all parts of upright: ρ cannot be read . [; foot of up-stroke to right touching the tail of λ 5].., oblique upright with thicker ink on foot (ν suggested)

Fr. 5 1].., κ or λ . [; tip of diagonal at line level 4].., dot at mid-height . . [; ε or c; foot of up-stroke to right 5].. [; two high spots on vertical fibres (surface stripped)

Fr. 6

]. . []. . [
	]αροις λιπενυ . . [	ἐνὶ μεγ]άροις λίπεν υἱό[ν
	]ηιδρυναντος [	]ηι Δρύαντος
	]αθωρησσοντο [	]α θωρήσσοντο
5	]τιμενονπτολιεθρον[	ἐυκ]τίμενον πτολίεθρον
	]υχαλκε[. .]οῦρα [	]υ χάλκε[α δ]οῦρα
	]μενη[. . .]. αλκ[	]μενη[. . .]. αλκ[

1].. [; foot of upright followed by small angular trace at line level (apex downwards) and top of oblique upright (ν?); initial curve and part of cross-bar (κ rather than η?) 2 . . [; lower part of upright; dot at mid-height, possibly left-hand arc 3].., foot of upright 7].., oblique upright (probably ν)

Fr. 7

]. [
	].. ησερ[
	]υομενη[
	]ωνπα . [
5	].. θο . [
	]σδε . [

Fr. 8

]. . [
	].. εκα[
	]τινα[
	].. ιτε . [
	].. φελεςτ[
	].. [ροσαλλο . [

Fr. 9

]... [..]. [
	]υβριοσι . . [
	].. ημεν . [
	]ακλε . [
].. [
	]ασσεται[

	]οιϰαμ[	] . εγανο . . . [	]ψειεθαλ . [
	]ο . [.]μϵ . [	]τηροτε . [	] . αιδεμε . [
	]μετα . [	] . σπιδ . [ . ] . [	] . κουσιτ[
10	]δεμπε[	] . τ[	] . ιζ . [
	] . . . τιβ[	.	] . η[

Fr. 7 1] . [, trace below the line, possibly part of descender 2] . . , upright; dot at line level, perhaps foot of upright, and oblique upright with thicker ink on foot (N suggested) 4] . [, foot of up-stroke to right 5] . [, tip of up-stroke to right 6] . [, foot of upright 6] . [, probably Δ 8] . [.] , higher part of upright (blurred ink, perhaps part of the deletion); I cannot recognize the deleted letter 9] . [, lower part of upright 9] . [, high horizontal 11] . . . , top of upright; high horizontal (τ rather than ζ); higher part of curved up-stroke to right followed by spot at mid-height

Fr. 8 1] . . [, apparently λ, Δ, or λ; indistinguishable traces at line level 2] . [, descender as of ρ, τ, Υ, φ 4] . [, trace at line level (perhaps part of upright) followed by high horizontal touching ι (τ suggested) 5] . [, lower part of up-stroke to right 5] . [, dot at line level below the left-hand arc of φ (λ possible) 6] . [, trace below the line, probably part of descender 7] . [, remains of upright 7] . [, faint medial trace on edge 8] . [(damaged fibres), perhaps the two ends of a high horizontal; trace level with letter-tops above faint spots at mid-height; high trace (three or two letters represented) 8] . [, high flat trace 9] . [, apparently tail of λ or cross-bar of ε 8] . [, traces at line level on edge 9] . [, tip of upright above the line, as of φ 10] . [, top of upright touching the horizontal of τ

Fr. 9 1] . . [, horizontal at mid-height; small loop at line level (B²); specks from descender 2] . [, foot of upright just below the line 2] . [, faint traces on edge (top and middle of the line); oblique descender (λ or X suggested) 3] . [, top of λ, Δ, or λ 3] . [, two consecutive dots at mid-height (perhaps parts of a loop) followed by a faint high spot 4] . [, trace level with the cross-bar of ε with speck on the line below 5] . [(stripped fibres), two spots followed by upper right-hand part of circle slightly below mid-height 7] . [, thick dot at line level touching the tail of λ (perhaps λ) 8] . [, apparently right-hand tip of horizontal touching α at mid-height 9] . [, foot of up-stroke to right (λ suggested) 9] . [, tip of up-stroke to right touching top of κ 10] . [, trace at line level compatible with λ, Δ, λ 10] . [, dot at line level on edge 11] . [, right-hand part of horizontal at mid-height

Fr. 10

. . .
] . ο . [
] λπ . [
] . ειρ[
] [[αι]] . . [
 5] κυδεζ[
] . . καλπα[
] πετε[
] . .
] . διος . [

Fr. 11

. . .
] . ιδε . [
] αξεσθ . [. . [
 δεξατογ[
 ζηνογα[. . [
 ηδημι . [
 χειριτε[
 κυμμα[
] δυω[

Fr. 12

. . .
] . . [
] αχη . . [
] . θεδι . [
] υσετ . [
] η . ανα[
] . . υσεε[
] . . . [

]. . [^v] . τ ο . [

Fr. 10 1] . , upright 2] . [, initial curve as of λ 3] . , dot at line level on edge and blurred spot above the line 4] . , high spot on edge 5] . [a i o] . , above the deleted letters there is an angular sign (apex upwards), the right arm of which is long and curved (PJP writes: 'the suprascript ink looks almost like a hyphen, but perhaps the extra ink to the left excludes that') 6] . [, apparently left-hand part of β, ε, or ς; two consecutive spots, one slightly above the line and one at line level 7] . , trace at mid-height, perhaps right-hand part of horizontal; two thick high dots (the arms of γ?) 8] . , up-stroke to right with slightly curved tip 9] . [, above δ there are two suprascript cursive letters, perhaps ςε 10] . [, foot of up-stroke to right 11] . [, high trace, perhaps top of letter (ς corrected into η?); high curved trace, apparently top of circular letter, and speck above the line (from above or below?)

Fr. 11 1] . , faint high spot 2] . [, γ rather than ρ, τ 3] . [, the gap fits a narrow letter 4] . [, thick down-stroke to right with curved top (λ?); up-stroke to right starting from the lower right-hand part of the previous letter and forming an angle on top (λ?) 5] . [, upright followed by spot at line level on edge 6] . [, high spot above trace at mid-height (perhaps cross-stroke joining upright) 7] . [, upright followed by arm?

Fr. 12 1] . [, horizontal slightly above line level; descender as of ρ, τ, γ, φ 2] . [, ε or ς; left-hand part of high horizontal touching the previous letter 3] . [, right-hand tip of high horizontal touching θ 4] . [, ο rather than ω 5] . [, lower part of letter beneath faint spot above the line on edge 6] . [, perhaps τ or ρ (blurred ink) 7] . [, indistinguishable (blurred ink) 8] . [, perhaps top of circular letter; high horizontal (above faint spots at line level on stripped fibres); perhaps tip of up-stroke to right

Fr. 13

Fr. 14

Fr. 15

	]. [	]. [	] ξ α . [
	] κ ι σ ι . [	] . τ ι μ . [	] υ τ ε . . [
	] ε λ ο υ [	] υ ς α τ ' . [	] . ν δ ρ . [
	]. [[ιδ'ω]] . [	] . ο η μ ε [	] υ α ν . [
5	] τ α τ . [	] [	] τ α . [
	] ω θ . [] . . [

Fr. 13 1] . [, dot below the line, perhaps tip of descender 2] . [, τ or π 3] . [, speck at mid-height [[ιδ'ω]], the deletion mark, if not delusory, is quite faint 4] . [, oblique descender (λ or x suggested) 5] . [, foot of upright 6] . [, upright

Fr. 14 1] . [, two consecutive dots at line level 2] . [, two spots on edge, one high and one at mid-height 3] . [, upright 4 τ ' , the elision mark is written above the right-hand top of τ 5] . [, trace at line level, perhaps lower left-hand part of circular letter 6] . [, faint spot at mid-height on edge 7] . [, on account of the blank space beneath με (4), it is possible that v. 4 was the last verse of a column; but it is also conceivable that a short line followed v. 4

Fr. 15 1] . [, upright 2] . [, ς rather than ε; perhaps foot of upright 3] . [, dot at line level com-

Fr. 21 1] . [, foot of upright 2 o, faint down-stroke to right starting from lower right-hand part of letter (not accounted for) 3] . [, perhaps tip of oblique descender of λ or × 4] . [, faint spot at mid-height on an isolated fibre 5] . [, τ or γ 6] . [, ε or c 7] . [, left-hand arc (o suggested); very faint spot level with top of preceding arc followed by high dot (top of triangular letter?); high dot, perhaps part of upright

Fr. 22

1] . [, foot of up-stroke to right (λ suggested); upper left-hand part and top of a letter followed by faint spot at line level (perhaps two letters represented) 2] . [, curved foot of up-stroke to right followed by high roughly circular traces (damaged fibres; λ with suprascript?); remains of up-stroke to right 3] . [, right part of high horizontal (τ suggested) 4] . [, trace at line level, perhaps foot of up-stroke to right 5] . [, ε [

Fr. 23

1] . [, θ ε [2] . [, c . . [3] . [, ε [4] . [,] . [

Fr. 24

1] . . ω κ [2] . ο δ ω δ [3] . μ . [4] . [

Fr. 22 1] . [, oblique upright 2 ε is apparently written *currente calamo* over a letter that I cannot identify 3] . [, foot of up-stroke to right (λ suggested); upper left-hand part and top of a letter followed by faint spot at line level (perhaps two letters represented) 4] . [, curved foot of up-stroke to right followed by high roughly circular traces (damaged fibres; λ with suprascript?); remains of up-stroke to right 5] . [, right part of high horizontal (τ suggested) 6] . [, trace at line level, perhaps foot of up-stroke to right

Fr. 23 1] . [, probably λ 2] . [, apparently right-hand part of ω 3] . [, λ (followed by ?η, ?ι) or (if only one letter represented) μ 4] . [, faint high trace

Fr. 24 1] . ., ε?; τ or ι 2] ., spot at mid-height on edge 3] . [, tip of upright 4] . [, faint trace close to v. 3

Fr. 25

1] . . υ ρ ε τ [2] τ α ρ ε θ υ . [3] . χ ε ν . ε ι . [4] . ν [

Fr. 26

1] . . . [2] ζ α κ ρ . [3] . ν φ [

Fr. 27

1] . . [

Fr. 25 1] . ., foot of down-stroke to right; ε or c 2] . [, up-stroke to right (λ or μ suggested) 3] . [, right-hand arc in the upper half of the line 4] . [, top of triangular letter (Δ rather than λ or λ) 5] . [, high trace on edge (Δ?) 6] . [, trace just below letter-tops (part of horizontal?) followed by faint high spot

Fr. 26 1] . . . [(lower parts of letters), thick dot; possibly tip of up-stroke to right; possibly lower left-hand part of λ or Δ 2] . [, two faint spots on edge, one at mid-height and one below the line 3] . [, apparently top of up-stroke to right with tip of vertical before it (not κ)

Fr. 27 1] . . [, top of λ or Δ; apparently left end of horizontal (τ?)

Fr. 28

· · · · ·
] . . [.
] . . . [.
] α . . [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 29

· · · · ·
 [.
 . . ι κ ω . [.
 τ [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 30

· · · · ·
] . [.] . [. [.
] . ι κ α ι [.
] . υ ς [.
] α τ η . [.
 5] . . [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 28 1] . . [, foot of upright; α rather than λ 2] . . . [, up-stroke to right from middle to top of the line; lower part of ε or ς; lower part of loop (λ or ο suggested) 3 . . [(abraded fibres), top of circle just above mid-height; thick curved down-stroke to right from top to middle of the line (possibly λ, the left leg of which may also be partly extant)

Fr. 29 1 [(lower parts of letters), spot at line level; two dots at line level (one above the other), perhaps part of upright; spot slightly above line level; spot at line level 2 . . . , confused traces at mid-height; λ or α? . [, thick upright compatible with η 3 (letter-tops), thick dot, very thick up-stroke to right above the line and faint spot level with letter-tops beneath the up-stroke (perhaps some symbol rather than a letter); dot above the line and spot level with letter-tops beneath it; upright followed by up-stroke to right (κ?); down-stroke to right touching the preceding stroke (α?)

In the left margin of v. 3 f., a cursive note, perhaps () γ(ἀρ) | ---] . . α ρ ε () ? (] . . , central part of upright above horizontal below the line; horizontal at mid-height touching α).

Fr. 30 1] . [, descender as of ρ, τ, γ, φ [.] , the gap fits a narrow letter [.] , very faint spot at line level 2 a very strange line: the hand looks different from the other fragments and the letters overlap (perhaps to spare space at the end of the verse?) [.] , apparently top of upright 3] . , ρ or τ 4 . [, faint high spot 5] . . [, right-hand arc; perhaps part of upright

Fr. 31

· · · · ·
] . [.
] α λ α . [.
] . ρ ω α . [.
] . ω . κ [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 32

· · · · ·
] . . [.
] [.
] τ ο ν [.
] . τ ε . [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 33

· · · · ·
] ε ν [.
] μ ε ν [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 34

· · · · ·
] . α κ α . . [.
] . ε α κ ρ [.
] . [.] . [. [.
] . . [.
 · · · · ·

Fr. 31 1] . [, faint trace below the line (part of descender?) 2 . [, upright 3] . , faint trace at line level followed by high spot and foot of upright followed by curved up-stroke to right above the line (η?) . [, up-stroke to right (λ suggested) 4] . , high very thick dot (blurred ink), perhaps loop of ρ ω . , probably α but η cannot be ruled out

Fr. 32 1] . . [(damaged fibres), trace at line level (foot of upright?); then perhaps θ (if only one letter represented, possibly μ) 2] [(damaged fibres), thick up-stroke to right at mid-height beneath high horizontal

(a distorted o?); upright; dot at line level; descender as of ρ, τ, Υ, φ 4], very faint high spot on edge .[, apparently remains of loop at line level (λ?)

Fr. 34 1], apparently tip of roughly horizontal stroke touching loop of α at mid-height .[, foot of upright touching the lower tip of α; foot of upright 2], probably λ 3].[(stripped fibres), spot just above mid-height].[, high spot, possibly tip of upright 4].[(stripped fibres), two very faint spots at mid-height

Fr. 35

]αβ[

].[

. .

Fr. 36

]κο.[

]διο.[

]οιο.[

]..[

. .

Fr. 37

]..[.].[

]φιλοφ.[

]νυμω[

].ελικ[

. .

Fr. 35 2].[, speck

Fr. 36 1].[, foot of upright 2].[, θ or ω rather than ε or c? 3].[, thick spot at line level on edge 4].[, faint high traces; perhaps top of circular letter

Fr. 37 1].[, two feet of upright].[, descender 2 φ, the upper vertical is not visible].[, apparently tip of descender (ρ?) 4].[(damaged fibres), faint horizontal at mid-height

Fr. 38

].βιη[

]νθ[

. .

Fr. 39

]διος[.].[

]ακρανεφη.[

]αγγελ[

. .

Fr. 40

]αζ[

]φιλο.[

].[

. .

Fr. 38 1].[, upright β, the lower loop (the only extant part of the letter) is abnormally large ι is probably inserted

Fr. 39 1].[, blurred thick spot below the line 2].[, foot of upright

Fr. 40 2].[, apparently left-hand angle of μ or ν 3].[, speck

Fr. 41

]ωλ[

]δ.[

. .

Fr. 42

]χοι.[

]ζομ[

]..[

. .

Fr. 43

].νη[

]ακον.[

]φανεια.[

]κδελυ.[

. .

5]νεαθ[

Fr. 41 2 . . . [, very faint spots of ink at mid-height close to the next letter; perhaps λ

Fr. 42 1 . [, apparently foot of upright 3] . [(letter-tops), two spots one above the other; top of triangular letter (specks of ink below both traces on stripped fibres)

Fr. 43 1] . (damaged fibres), spot at mid-height on edge followed by faded top of upright 2 *intra lineas* above ν, a speck of ink not accounted for 3] . [, thick down-stroke to right at mid-height 3 of φ only the descender remains 4] . [, traces (top and middle of the line) on projecting fibres 4] . [, foot of upright

Fr. 44

.
] . [.
] . εμοιοτ[
] ε . [

Fr. 45

.
] . [.
] ρη[
] . τε[
] . . . [

Fr. 46

.
] . τε . [.
] εηικιγ . [.
] . τ[.] . . . [.

Fr. 44 1] . [, descender as of ρ, τ, γ, φ 2] . [, near-horizontal touching the back of ε 3] (letter-tops), top of up-stroke to right above the line; high spot followed at a bit lower level by right-hand part of horizontal; top of upright (probably ι); top of circular letter; high thick dot; high horizontal 4] . [, apparently ρ or c

Fr. 45 1] . [, very faint spot just below the line 3] . [, top of up-stroke to right 4] . . . [, higher part of thick upright sloping down to right; faint high trace; high flat trace

Fr. 46 1] . [, thick upright with foot curving to left on edge (N?) 2] . [, trace at line level on edge, possibly foot of upright 3] . [, foot of upright 4] . [, very faint spot at mid-height on edge 5] . . . [(letter-tops), top of triangular letter; apparently the same; high up-stroke to right

Fr. 47

.
] . [.] . [.
] . [.
] τα [.
] . λα [.
5] [.] . [.
] [.] [.
] . α . [.
] λ . . [.

Fr. 48

.
] . [.
] . ελο[.
] ζτυ[.

Fr. 49

.
] [.
] [.
] [.
] . την
] . . ν

Fr. 47 1] . [, part of down-stroke to right at mid-height] . [, λ or ο 2] . [, upper right-hand part of loop at mid-height 3] (damaged fibres), upright; perhaps ρ; perhaps ε or c; two faint horizontals, one close to the previous letter just above mid-height and the other further to right just above line level 4] . , upright [, apparently π; top of upright; possibly top of circular letter; high traces on edge 5] [(damaged fibres), apparently not ink, but scrap of superimposed papyrus] . [, possibly upper left-hand part of ρ, ε, π, or c 6 stripped fibres 7] . , middle of upright] . [, faint upright touching the tail of α 8 . .] . [, possibly ε; thick dot at mid-height

Fr. 48 1] . [, foot of oblique descender, as of λ or x 2] . , tip of high horizontal on edge

Fr. 49 1] . , faint spot at line level on edge 2] . , faint spot at mid-height; speck of ink projecting from left arm of ν at mid-height

Fr. 1

1 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.315, 13.390 = 16.483, and see *ῥαισσηῖρι* in v. 3.

2 An elided monosyllable (e.g. γ', δ', τ') would fill the lacuna. Then *ἐπιδο-*, *ἐπὶ δο-*, *ἐπ' ἴδο-* are equally possible.

3 *βίη* or *βίη*. *τε* is *varia lectio* or correction of *πι* (δ' *ἐπί* converted into δέ *τε*?). PJP compares Hom. *Il.* 11.561 *τύπτουσιν ῥοπάλοισι βίη δέ τε νηπίη αὐτῶν*, which recommends the supplement *τύπτου]ειν* and the articulation δέ *τε* [(rather than δ' *έτε*] or δ' *έτε*] in our verse. At the beginning *κόπτου]ειν* is also possible and perhaps suits better the following *ῥαισσηῖρι* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.379, *Od.* 8.274).

1-3 I have thought of two possible reconstructions: (1) Two or more craftsmen forge some object (a shield? cf. v. 7), using curved (pincers?) and hammering: they represent on the shield the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. (2) The wounding of a Lapith or a Centaur gives rise to a simile drawn from the activity of smiths: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.275-8 (the Centaur Rhoetus hurls a firebrand upon the head of the Lapith Charaxus) *vulnere sanguis inustus / terribilem stridore sonum dedit, ut dare ferrum / igne rubens plerumque solet, quod forcipe curva / cum faber eduxit, lacubus demittit.*

4 *συμφορτός* qualifies *ἀρετή* in its only Homeric occurrence (*Il.* 13.237), while Nonnus uses it more concretely of military situations (cf. *Dion.* 22.358 *al.*).

ἔην or *έήν*.

κτ[ύπος or *κτ[αμεν-* among the possibilities. The din of the smithy? The slain in the struggle?

5 *πολύδακρυς* or *πολύδακρυν*.

Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.167 = 20.319 *ἀνὰ κλόνον* (same metrical position).

6 *ἤλασε* or a compound, as *δ[ι]ήλασε*. The forging of the shield? The striking of blows during the fight? Cf. Quint. Smyrn. 10.149f. *διὰ δὲ πλατὺν ἤλασεν ὦμον | αἰχμῆ ἀνιηρή* (with which cf. also *πλατὺς ὦμος* in v. 7 here).

7 Cf. Ap. Rh. 1.1198, Quint. Smyrn. 13.318, Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.2, 5, 93 (*PG* 37 p. 1528), Nonn. *Dion.* 17.246, 18.27 *πλατὺν ὦμον* (same metrical position in the second and fifth passage).

At the end, some case of *ἀσπίς* is very probable.

8 Perhaps a fighter's weapon was satiated with human flesh: cf. Hom. *Il.* 21.69f. *ἐγχείη . . . | . . . ἰεμένη χροὸς ἄμεναι ἀνδρομέοιο.*

9 Perhaps *τις Κενταύρων*, then perhaps *Λαπιθάων* [(like Hom. *Il.* 12.128, same metrical position) or *Λαπίθαις*]. Cf. Ap. Rh. 1.42 *Κενταύροις Λαπίθαις* (same metrical position).

10 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.362 *πλήξεν . . . κόρυθος φάλον.*

11 The Centaurs' weapons are tree trunks and branches: pines are mentioned by Ov. *Met.* 12.357 and [Orph.] *Arg.* 172; generally the Centaurs brandish firs ([Hes.] *Scut.* 188, 190, Pind. *Thren. fr.* 57.7 Cannatà Fera, Ap. Rh. 1.64, [Orph.] *Arg.* 172), but also oaks (Ov. *Met.* 12.328, Val. Fl. 1.146), ashes (Lucan. 6.390) or unspecified trees (Ov. *Met.* 12.432, 442, 507-23); see further *LIMC* Peirithoos 3 (the François vase) and our fr. 8.7 with comm.

For *μέγαν ὄζον*, cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.435f. *ὄζοι | . . . μεγάλοι.*

12 *κυμπερέτην* is appropriate for two champions or two groups beginning to fight: cf. Hom. *Il.* 7.256, 21.387, 23.687. Then perhaps *ἄμυδις*.

13 For the participle *πεπλήγοντες*, cf. Call. *Iou.* 53, Nonn. *Dion.* 28.327.

14 The iota of *ἄγριον* is scanned long: Hom. *Il.* 22.313 *ἀγρίου* (beginning of verse) is no real parallel, since there the lengthening is justified by an original *ἀγρίοο*. *ἀγριότης* is a characteristic of the Centaurs: cf. Eur. *Herc.* 364, Hesych. s.v. *κενταυρικῶς*. I would not think of *ἀγρ(ε)ῖον*, because this word means 'rural' (cf. Leon. *Tar. Anth. Pal.* 6.35.2 = *HE* 2256) or 'rude' (cf. Alcm. *PMGF* 16.1, Aristoph. *Nub.* 655, *Thesm.* 160, Call. *fr.* 24.13 Pf. = 26.13 M.).

ἔκλιω[αν]? Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.37 *Τρώας δ' ἔκλιναν Δαναοί*, *Od.* 9.59. However, this reconstruction raises metrical difficulties. To avoid a breach of Hermann's bridge, we must suppose that *ἔκλιναν* was followed by a word beginning with a consonant; but even then there is a particularly harsh violation of Naeke's bridge, given the short quantity of *a* (see West, *GM* p. 155 n. 50). *ἐκαίη[υτο]* (cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.282) does not seem to suit the context.

15 For *ὑπ' ἐγχείησι*, cf. Quint. Smyrn. 2.130. The spears are used by the Lapiths (also in *fr.* 6.6): cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.128, [Hes.] *Scut.* 178, 190.

The adverb *διασταδόν* is not to be found before Arat. 209.

16 *ῆ, ῆ, ῆ*.

περιδείδια with gen. means 'I feel fear for' someone: cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.93 (with Leaf's comm.), 17.240. Here the poet could be making a general statement: during a struggle, one always *fears about a comrade* (killed and left *unburied*? cf. v. 17 *ἀκηδῆ*). PJP remarks that this verse may be the beginning of the simile tentatively identified in vv. 18–20 below (see n.); he proposes e.g. *ὡς δῆ]ξέ τις*.

18 Given the content of vv. 19–20, *ἄνεμον* is very attractive.

18–20 Possibly a simile: the fight or one of the fighters is compared with a winter gale. It is noteworthy that all the passages of the *Iliad* listed in the note on v. 20 belong to similes. Cf. also Ap. Rh. 3.1265–7 (Jason is going to face the trial imposed by Aectes) *φαίης κεν ζοφεροῖο κατ' αἰθέρος αἴσσουσαν | χειμερίην στεροπήν θαμινὸν μεταπαυφάσσειθαι | ἐκ νεφέων*, Quint. Smyrn. 9.71 f. (the Greeks rush towards the walls of Troy) *υφάδεσσιν εὐκότες, αἶ τε φέρονται | ταρφέες ἐκ νεφέων κρυερῆ ὑπὸ χείματος ὄρη*.

19 Perhaps *ὄρη χ]ειμερίησι*; cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.485 and Hes. *Op.* 494 (beginning of verse).

20 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.864, 11.62, 15.170, *Od.* 20.104 *ἐκ νεφέων* (same metrical position), always about meteorological phenomena or heavenly bodies.

Fr. 2

Ends of verses (blank space after *αι* in v. 9).

2 Perhaps *κύδι]μος* or *ὄβρι]μος ῆρ[ωσ* (cf. *Cypr. fr.* 15.4 Bernabé, Quint. Smyrn. 6.225, 8.32, Christod. *Anth. Pal.* 2.2).

3 Probably *Ἡρακλ[ῆος* or *-ῆι* or *-ῆα*, rather than some case of *βίη]* *Ἡρακλ[ηείη* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.658 *al.*). As regards this likely mention of Heracles, see the introduction above.

5 Perhaps *δ]εσμόν*. The bond that kept Andromeda tied to the sea rock? Cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1013 *al.*, Arat. 203, Ov. *Met.* 4.681 *al.*, Manil. 5.551 *al.*, Nonn. *Dion.* 25.130 *al.*

6 Cassiopeia, queen of Ethiopia, boasted of being more beautiful than the Nereids (this is the usual version of the myth: cf. [Apollod.] 2.4.3; according to Tzetzes ad Lyc. 836, she claimed to be fairer than Hera; Hygin. *Fab.* 64 and, implicitly, Antiphil. *Arrh. Plan.* 147.4 = *GP* 1090 say that she proclaimed her daughter Andromeda more beautiful than the Nereids). Poseidon, sharing the Nereids' anger, sent a sea monster against Ethiopia: to appease the god's fury, Andromeda had to be bound to a rock and be exposed to the *κῆτος*. Cassiopeia's ruinous boastfulness occurred already in Sophocles' *Andromeda* (*TrGF* IV p. 156) and became a common motif in later poetry: cf. Arat. 657 f., Prop. 3.22.29, 4.7.65 f., Ov. *Am.* 3.3.17 f., *Met.* 4.670 f., 687, 692, Manil. 1.354 f., 5.540, Nonn. *Dion.* 25.135 f., 41.236, 43.166 f.

7 *αῶσας, αῶσας, αῶσαι, αῶσαι[ε, αῶσαι*. The verb would be appropriate for Perseus saving Andromeda from the sea monster: cf. Eur. *TrGF* 129 and 133, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1014, Ov. *Met.* 4.703 *al.*

8 *ῆγαγε, ῆγαγ'*. Cf. e.g. *ep. adesp. Anth. Pal.* 9.483.1 *ῆγαγε Περσεύς* (end of verse).

9 ἀρήξαι, ἀρήξαι. For this explicit, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.408. Conceivably the verb applies to Perseus helping Andromeda: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.737 (Perseus) *auxilium . . . domus*. If this hypothesis is correct, note the post-Homeric sense of the word (in the Homeric poems ἀρήγειν means always 'to succour in war').

10 Cf. Hom. *Od.* 7.192, 12.223, 17.446.

Fr. 3

5 PJP proposes e.g. ἦ ὁ γε and points out that this could be the fifth foot.

6 μυχοῦ, μυχούς, πεν]τεμύχου, πεν]τεμύχου (cf. ἐπτάμυχος at Call. *Del.* 65, Nonn. *Dion.* 4.14, 10.66).

11 ὀρχη[.

Fr. 4

3 Perhaps ὑφ' ἄρμασι(ν) (cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.402 *al.*).

4 Βορέω νέον α. [. Cf. Arat. 241 Βορέω νέον κατιόντος.

4-5 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.171 = 19.358 ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς . . . Βορέω.

5], αι ῥιπηεν[. ῥιπή, ῥιπῆς, ῥιπή.

Fr. 5

1 κατευνα[(cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.448 κατεύνασθεν)?

2 πῆμα πρ[. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 17.446 πῆμα προσήγαγε.

3 ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπικοπέ[ησι and the like, ἐπὶ σκοπε[λ-. The rock to which Andromeda was tied (cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.26, Manil. 5.551, 628 *scorulis*)?

4 μ]έγα ρθένε (tragic verb found also in later epic, cf. Ap. Rh. 1.62)? μ]εγαρθενές (cf. prob. Hes. *fr.* 26.4 M.-W.)?

Fr. 6

2 Cf. Hom. *Od.* 16.120 μόνον ἔμ' ἐν μεγάροις τεκῶν λίπεν, *Il.* 14.485, 19.339, 22.483f., 24.726, *Od.* 3.354, 4.734, 11.68, 13.403, 20.67f.

3 For the Lapith Dryas, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.263, [Hes.] *Scut.* 179, LIMC Peirithoos 3 (the François vase), Ov. *Met.* 12.290 *al.*

4 Homeric explicit (*Il.* 2.526 *al.*).

5 Homeric explicit (*Il.* 2.501 *al.*).

6 Cf. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.63 χάλκεια δοῦρα. The Homeric expressions are slightly different: cf. *Il.* 6.3 and *Od.* 5.309 χαλκήρεα δοῦρα (end of verse), *Il.* 13.247 *al.* δόρυ χάλκεον. For the Lapiths' spears, see on fr. 1.15.

7 Some case of ἀλκή or ἄλκ[αρ, ἄ]γαλκ[ις, ἄ]γαλκ[ιν.

Fr. 8

7 μέγαν ὄζον (see on fr. 1.11)?

9 ἀκπίδι, ἀκπίδα (see fr. 1.7 and the introduction above)? θ]έσπιδι (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 3.41 *al.*, *Par.* 1.87 *al.*)? θ]έσπιδα (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 25.452, *Par.* 14.73)? The Homeric poems have only the form θέσπω (*Od.* 1.328, 8.498, 17.385).

Fr. 9

2 ὕβριος, perhaps followed by ἱεχ[(cf. Hes. *Op.* 217). The word ὕβρις could apply to Cassiepeia (but also to the Centaurs: cf. Eur. *Herc.* 181, Isocr. 10.26, Apostol. 9.73).

7]ψειε θαλα[cc-, perhaps κρύ]ψειε (cf. Opp. *Hal.* 2.637, Nonn. *Dion.* 33.331)? The word θάλασσα would suit the myth of Andromeda.

Fr. 10

6 κάπα[. Cf. Archestr. *SH* 159.1 = fr. 29.1 Olson-Sens, Numen. *SH* 586, Pancrat. *SH* 600.1, Opp. *Hal.* 1.125 *al.*

Fr. 11

- 2 ἀξέεθ[.
 3 δέξατο, δέξατ'. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.186, 5.158, *Od.* 5.462.
 4 Perhaps Ζηνός γὰρ (cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.213).
 6 Possibly χεῖρί τε (cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.361 = 5.372 = 6.485 = 24.127 = *Od.* 4.610 = 5.181, *Od.* 13.288).
 7 Some form of *κυμάρπτω* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.467 *κυμάρψας*, beginning of verse) or *κυμμα*[χ-.

Fr. 30

Apparently ends of verses (blank space after *υε* in v. 3).

Fr. 31

- 3 ἦρωα?

Fr. 37

- 2 Perhaps some ease of *φιλοφροσύνη* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.256).

Fr. 39

- 2 ἀκρα or μ]ακρὰ νέφη.

Fr. 46

- 2 It is not possible to join this line with fr. 5.3, to give *ἐπισκοπέησι*.

Fr. 47

- 4 Perhaps *Λαπιθα*[.

G. MASSIMILLA

III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

4715–4716. LYSIAS

Under these two numbers we give fragments of two speeches of Lysias. **4716** comes from that group of Lysian speeches transmitted in medieval MSS, and is the only such example thus far identified in the collection (others of possibly Oxyrhynchite provenance have been published from other collections—see below, and for lists of published papyri of Lysias see the on-line edition of the catalogue of Mertens–Pack³ at <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml>, and the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* at <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>). **4715** is among the group of speeches that did not survive to be copied in medieval MSS, but were known and circulated in antiquity under the name of Lysias.

Papyri of Lysian speeches of the second group are well exemplified: see G. Indelli, ‘I papiri di Lisia: alcune osservazioni’, *PapLup* 9 (2000) 195–204, and M. Cocurullo, ‘Il contributo dei papiri alla conoscenza di Lisia’, *PapLup* 10 (2001) 113–70. These include (i) P. Hibeh I 14 (iii BC cartonnage, written on the front of P. Hibeh I 7, a gnomic anthology of passages from Euripides, Ps.-Epicharmus, and Menander or Euripides) containing *Κατὰ Θεοζοτίδου*—a strikingly early manuscript of Attic oratory; (ii) MPER I 13 (ii AD Indelli; ii/iii ed. pr.; pap. roll, provenance unknown) containing *Περὶ τῆς Ἀντιφῶντος θυγατρὸς* and fragments of other unknown speeches; (iii) XIII **1606**, a late second- or early third-century papyrus roll containing *Πρὸς Ἰπποθέρεην*, *Πρὸς Θεόμνηστον*, and two to four other unknown orations, found together with the roll of Pindar’s *Paeans*, Euripides’ *Hypsipyle*, and other papyri (see XIII **1606** introd.; Cockle, *Hypsipyle* p. 22 n. 14; on the identification of speeches in XIII **1606** and the constitution of their texts see M. Sakurai, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 177–80; E. Medda, *ZPE* 129 (2000) 21–8; 135 (2001) 23–31, and id., *Lysiae In Hippothersem, In Theomnestum et fragmenta ex incertis orationibus (P. Oxy. 13.1606)* (Florence 2003) for a re-edition of the whole); (iv) P. Ryl. III 489 + P. Lond. inv. 2852 [Pack² 1290] (iv AD Indelli; 1st half of iv Cavallo–Maehler *GBEBP* no. 8b; iii/iv ed. pr.; pap. codex from Oxyrhynchus) containing *Ἐπεὶ Ἐρυξιμάχου*. In addition to these, XXXI **2537** contains hypotheses of no fewer than 18 Lysian speeches unknown in the medieval tradition. (On these see also J. C. Trevett, ‘P. Oxy. 2537 and Isocrates’ Trapeziticus’, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 22–6.)

Speeches of Lysias of the former group—those transmitted in medieval MSS and instanced on papyri—are few in number, especially in comparison with papyri of surviving speeches of Demosthenes, Isocrates, or Aeschines. These are significantly outnumbered by papyri of Lysian speeches that did not survive antiquity (see above, with the studies of Indelli and Cocurullo cited previously). This confirms (what can be seen from ancient critics of oratory) that the collection of Lysian works in circulation in the Roman period was vastly greater than those few that survived to be copied in the Middle Ages: see K. Dover,

Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968) 15. Pseudo-Plutarch (*Vitae decorat.* 836A) credits Lysias with 425 speeches, of which Dionysius and Caecilius (*De Lysia* 17) recognized 233 as genuine; we know the names of about 170, but only 34 are extant in medieval MSS, of which only 31 are agreed upon as authentically Lysian by modern editors (who regard XI, perhaps XV, and possibly VI as spurious; Dover is still more sceptical). Of the remains of the twenty-two hypotheses of Lysian speeches given by XXXI **2537** only four are extant in the surviving Lysian corpus. Of the Lysian speeches (at least four, more probably six) preserved in XIII **1606**, none are extant in medieval MSS.

Papyri of speeches of Lysias transmitted in medieval MSS include (i) PL III/284 B containing *De caede Eratosthenis* 14.25–15.28 (published by R. Pintaudi and A. López García, *AnPap* 12 (2000) 19–20 (i BC/i AD pap. roll probably from Oxyrhynchus); (ii) PSI XI 1206 containing *Epitaphius* 75–9 (pap. roll in the same hand (early iii AD Indelli; ii AD ed. pr.) as XIII **1606** and PSI XI 1202); (iii) P. Ryl. III 489 + P. Lond. inv. 2852 containing *Κατὰ Ἐρατοσθένους* 47.21 (see above); and (iv) PSI inv. 966 (mentioned without provenance or date by Pintaudi and López García, loc. cit. 19), a tiny fragment possibly containing *Κατὰ Διογείτονος* 22.7.

Further on the papyri of Lysias see the bibliography listed in E. Medda's re-edition of XIII **1606** (cited above). There are still no examples of papyri of the extant speeches of Lysias of Ptolemaic date, perhaps indicating a revival of interest in Attic oratory under the Atticizing influence of the Second Sophistic: Caecilius of Calacte, for instance, famously declared ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυκίου συγγράμμασιν that he was ἀμείνω Πλάτωνος (Longinus *De subl.* 32.8), while Dionysius of Halicarnassus devoted two treatises to him, only one of which survives. On the other hand P. Hibeh I 14, from iii BC, is a MS of Lysias' lost *Κατὰ Θεοζοτίδου*.

4716, a transmitted speech considered as genuinely Lysias' by ancient critics, augments the repertoire of surviving speeches preserved on papyri, but does not necessarily call into question the thesis (already mentioned) of Indelli (loc. cit. 197) that 'Lisia non aveva grandissima diffusione', especially when measured against the numbers of surviving papyri of Demosthenes, Isocrates, or Aeschines. But the addition of **4715** (known in antiquity, but not transmitted in our MSS) confirms the impression already given by the papyri that Lysian speeches not transmitted in our MSS were as well known and exemplified in Roman Oxyrhynchus as those that survived to be copied in the Middle Ages.

For collation and reporting of readings of medieval MSS we have used the editions of C. Hude, *Lysiae Orationes* (Oxford 1911); Th. Thalheim, *Lysiae Orationes*, ed. maior altera correctior (Leipzig 1913); L. Gernet and M. Bizos, *Lysias: Discours i–ii* (Paris 1955), U. Albin, *Lisia: I discorsi* (Florence 1955). We designate Codex Palatinus 88 as X, and Laurentianus plut. LVII. (often called 'C'), now known to be a copy not of X, as had been thought, but of an intermediary MS, itself a copy of X (F. Donadi, 'Esplorazione alla tradizione manoscritta dell'Encomio di Elena Gorgiano. II: i mss Laur. LVII.4 (C) e Ambr. H 52 sup. (Amico)', *BIFG* 3 (1976) 226–53) as Af, following G. Avezzù, *Lisia: Apologia per l'uccisione di Eratastene; Epitafio* (Padua 1985) and C. Carey's revised Cambridge commentary on and forthcoming

OCT edition of Lysias. Agreement of witnesses listed by Albini p. lxxv we designate as Ω , and the remainder of these as Ω .

We are grateful for Professor Carey for supplying a draft of his forthcoming edition of Lysias as well as comments on this introduction and the new texts which follow.

D. OBBINK

4715. LYSIAS, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΑΛΥΠΤΗΡΙΩΝ END-TITLE

101/6(a)

1.9 × 12.2 cm

First half of second century
Plate 1

A narrow strip of papyrus with four lines of writing across the fibres in the narrow direction. On the other side, along the fibres and the same way up, are a top margin and 13 lines of faint cursive writing assignable to the early second century. The literary side preserves the name of Lysias and (in three further lines) the title or colophon of a speech not transmitted in the medieval MSS of Lysias, but attributed to him (with doubts about authorship) by ancient authors.

The writing is an informal round hand typical of the second century, especially the first half, with a slight tilt to the left. *o* is rotund but slightly oval, exhibiting minimal but definite shading (thicker strokes at lower left and upper right quadrants). The hand is generally bilinear. Only the descender of *p* dips slightly below the line. *c* is in the same oval shape as *o* and falls slightly forward. *λ* has a hook upward on the right leg. *γ* in 1 has a rounded bowl floating detached on top of a short stem (more cursively formed in 3, with tail descending from the right side of the bowl). The mid-stroke of *ε* does not quite touch the inside of the bowl. *ω* is very rounded with a high middle and exhibits a connecting stroke with a repeated circular motion to the following *ν* (4). The adjoining arms of *κ* do not quite connect with the upright. The diagonal of *ν* extends to the left of the left upright, but meets the right upright at the base-line. For a comparable hand see P. Lond. Lit. 132 = *GLH* no. 13b (Hyperides, *Orationes*; first half of second century, judged from the cursive titles and subscriptions), except for *γ*, for which see the somewhat earlier P. Fayum 110 = *GLH* 11b (private letter, AD 94). In general the impression of the writing is of an informal copy produced with some insouciance but not entirely unstylized.

Short decorative hairline underscorings separate each of the four lines at beginning and end. The lines are centred, one above the other, possibly written in such a way that all begin and end at exactly the same point. The first (name of author) is written in slightly larger and more formal letters with proportionately greater space between the letters, and between this line and the following. Space between lines in 2-4 is slightly less than that between lines 1 and 2.

Orientation suggests the title or colophon at the end of a roll written on a reused documentary papyrus, rather than a *sillybos* or title-tag (one would have expected the latter to have been written the long way, i.e. parallel to the greater dimension, though P. Ant. I 21

is an apparent exception). A parallel case is LX **4026**. Possible explanations for the narrowness of the column of writing and its short lines (necessitating the division ἀνακαλυπτηρίων) include (i) that there was shortage of space at the end of the roll; (ii) that the columns of the main text (including possibly a short column above the colophon) had an equally narrow width, a familiar enough format for oratory on papyrus (notwithstanding W. A. Johnson, 'Is Oratory Written on Narrower Columns? A Papyrological Rule of Thumb Reviewed', *Pap. Congr. XX* 425–7). Space above line 1 is 4.5 cm; below line 4 5.0 cm. If these spaces represented the original margins, the roll would have been a miniature one—not inconceivable, but perhaps an unlikely format for oratory. It is possible that the original layout showed the title centred under a block of text in the top portion of the same column.

Lysias' name appears in 1 in slightly larger letters. Name of author here implies a single roll, containing this speech alone, and not a multi-speech edition of Lysias. For comparison on this point see XIII **1606** fr. 6 iii 136–7 Πρὸς Ἰπποθέρην | ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης followed by a blank space (other Lysian speeches follow), and two further subscriptions of Lysian speeches preserved in a fragmentary papyrus codex P. Ryl. III 489 + P. Lond. inv. 2852 recto col. ii Ἀ]πολογία | περὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοθέλινου φόνου (end-title) and col. ii (beginning title) Ὑπὲρ Ἐρρυξιμάχου μείναντος ἐν ἄστει, without author's name. When it does occur, the name of the author precedes regularly in colophons (though not invariably so). The presence of the colophon here implies that, although written on a recycled documentary papyrus, the speech was copied in full. Colophons at the ends of texts written on reused backs are well-exemplified (e.g. LXVIII **4663**, Hesiod, *Op. et Dies* end-title). On colophons and titles in general see: D. Albino, 'La divisione in capitoli nelle opera degli antichi', *Ann. Fac. Lett. Fil. Univ. Napoli* 10 (1962–3) 219–34; W. E. H. Cockle, *Euripides: Hypsipyle* (Rome 1987) 219–22; J.-C. Fredouille et al. (eds.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques* (Paris 1997); M. Hengel, 'Die Evangelienüberschriften', *SB Heidelberg, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1984, Bericht 3; W. Luppe, 'Rückseitentitel auf Papyrusrollen', *ZPE* 27 (1977) 89–99; E. Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel*, Göteborgs Hogskolas Arsskrift 47.19 (1941); R. P. Oliver, 'The First Medicean MS of Tacitus and the Titulature of Ancient Books', *TAPA* 82 (1951) 232–61; E. Schmalzriedt, *Περὶ φύσεως: Ζῆρ Frühgeschichte der Buchtitel* (Munich 1970). Cf. on titles and *agrapha* at the beginnings of rolls G. Bastianini, 'Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione', *PapLup* 4 (1996) 21–42 at 25–7.

The speech Περὶ τῶν ἀνακαλυπτηρίων is cited by this title and ascribed to Lysias (while recording doubts as to its genuineness) by Theon *Progymn.* c. 2, I 165 Walz = Lysias fr. VII Thalheim (ed. maior 1913) = fr. VIIa in C. Carey's forthcoming edition. Περὶ τῶν ἀνακαλυπτηρίων (of which **4715** now attests a copy at Oxyrhynchus = fr. VIIIb Carey) was doubtless among those 425 speeches that pseudo-Plutarch (*Vitae dec. orat.* 836A) says passed under the name of Lysias in Roman antiquity. Doubts recorded by Theon about its genuineness make it unlikely that it was among those labelled γνήσιοι, 'correctly ascribed' by Caecilius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Lysia* 17). Theon notes that the speech contained an examination (ζητεῖται) into the question of whether objects given to a woman getting married were hers to keep either βεβαίως, 'inalienably' (so the two earliest MSS and the Armenian version according to the Budé editors Patillon and Bolognesi (Paris 1997),

and of marg. Victorii according to Walz, adopted by Thalheim), or βιαίως, 'by right of forcible recovery' (so MS M of Theon, assuming that the speech belonged to that class of speeches known as δίκαι βιαιών—for which cf. XXXI 2537 introd.; cf. Lys. 23.12, Plat. Leg. 914e, Demosth. 37.33; Dover op. cit. 11–12). At any rate it concerned the disposition after the dissolution of a marriage of ἀνακαλυπτήρια, 'gifts given to brides by the husband or his relatives or friends', during the ceremony in which the bride is 'revealed to the husband for the first time' (so the lexicon of Harpocration s.v. ἀνακαλυπτήρια without mention of Lysias: δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις παρά τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ὥστε ὄραθῆναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καλεῖται δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπαύλια. ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν θεώρετρα). Theon (op. cit.) recommends as 'all the same not unrewarding' the speech Περὶ τῶν ἀνακαλυπτηρίων (along with the one about the abortion, Περὶ τῆς ἀμβλώσεως = fr. X Thalheim = XI Carey) to students of rhetoric learning θετικά κεφάλαια, 'topical subjects', against the objections of the purists and contemporary doubts about the authenticity of the ascription of these speeches to Lysias: Λυσίου μὲν οὐ φασι εἶναι τούτους τοὺς λόγους, ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἀχάριστον τοῖς νέοις γυμνασίας ἔνεκα καὶ τούτοις ἐντυγχάνειν.

]Λυσίου[
π]ερι των[
αν]ακαλυ[
πτ]ηριων[

1 Above and at left of Λ there is ink: an upright curving outward at right, as of the right arm of Υ (but hardly enough to suggest it), with a short diagonal entering at bottom. It is impossible to imagine this as any part of the colophon (e.g. stichometric count). Alignment of the lines of the title will prevent it from having been any part of the preceding column (e.g. line-ends from the end of the speech). Possibly a decorative stroke.

D. OBBINK

4716. LYSIAS, ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΩΡΟΔΟΚΙΑΣ (Or. XXI) 3–9, 15, 17

20 3B.36/H(1–5)d part +
46 5B.48/D(3)a + 47 5B.47/B(2–6)a

(fr. 1) 18 × 31.6 cm

Second half of second century
Plate XII

Parts of three columns (fr. 1) from a papyrus roll written along the fibres and showing its full height of 31.6 cm. On the basis of word-count it may be determined that one column of Lysias XXI preceded in the roll before col. ii. Col. ii retains between one and seven letters from line ends; col. iii is substantially complete; col. iv shows a few letters from the beginnings of lines. Three columns are missing between column iv and fr. 2; these will have come at the bottom of the eighth column of the original roll. The columns consisted of 25 lines, with generous spacing (much greater than the height of the letters) between lines. An upper margin of 8 cm and bottom margin of 5 cm survive; the intercolumnia are about 2 cm. Lines contain 18–20 letters. The columns show little tilt and the beginnings of lines do not drift to the left as one moves down in the column.

The single hand at work is an elegant formal mixed type that is usually assigned to the mid-second century. It exhibits the highly upright and regular quality associated with the beginnings of the Severe Style, but also observed in such calligraphic examples as the London Bacchylides. ι, τ, γ, φ dip below the notional baseline with a spiky tail slanting slightly to left at bottom. μ in four strokes with upright legs (the right one curving slightly inward), thus giving an early impression (but possibly archaizing). c and ε are full height but narrow, the latter with a tongue that does not exceed the jaws nor touch the bowl on the inside (a genuinely early feature). Arms of κ meet the upright at the centre-point and do not touch the notional guide-lines, thus producing a narrow central bird-beak-like angle. ο is diminutive and floating to the top-line, as do Δ (wider than tall) and ω (rising to mid-point in centre). For a comparable hand see I 26 (= Roberts *GLH* no. 19a), Demosthenes, *Prooemia*, dated to the second half of second century (assigned, on the basis of accounts on back in small cursive, ‘not later than the early part of the third century’ by Grenfell and Hunt). Here, however, η, γ, and other letters are formed consistently differently: in η the cross-bar extends to the left, while in γ the tail descends from a central convergence of the arms, whereas in I 26 the left-hand arm is shorter and joined to a diagonal that continues into the tail.

No accents and no real corrections are present. (The scribe wrote μ above ν in iii 24.) Punctuation is by high point (ii 1, iii 7, 17, 20), combined with a short *paragraphos* under first letter of the line and not extending into the left margin (iii 20); and by *paragraphos* alone (iii 12, 21). At ii 6 and iii 15 a final vowel is tacitly elided (cf. ii 3–4 bis). Iota adscript is consistently written, and irrational iota at least once (iii 21). Once there is a short horizontal line-filler at line-end (ii 10). The papyrus in general presents an attractive, well-wrought appearance in an expansive format. The back is blank.

At ii 8 the papyrus fails to confirm an emendation accepted by most editors. It possibly contains in iii 8–9 an original and correct variant. It also shows significant divergence from the transmitted text at iii 8, iv 11–16, and possibly in fr. 3.

Speech XXI in the *corpus Lysiacum* is titled Ἀπολογία δωροδοκίας, apparently on the basis of §21 (which denies taking bribes; but cf. §16, implying embezzlement of public funds). In addition the speech is labelled in the Palatine MS (X) as ἀπαράσημος, apparently indicating that its authenticity was not impugned by ancient critics. (It is the only speech to be thus designated: cf. Hsch. s.v. ἀπαράσημος; LSJ s.v. παράσημος 2, perhaps implying the circulation of a non-authentic version?) The MSS seem to give only the conclusion of a defence speech without giving the actual charges and names of accusers, and providing only the defendant’s general account of his personal character. Because of the missing beginning, not even the exact accusation (probably corruption or embezzlement during the holding of an office) is known. The only new information given by the papyrus text is that the part between the beginning of the text in the MSS and the beginning of col. ii in the papyrus can be accommodated in a single column of the format of col. ii. This might suggest that in the papyrus the speech itself began at the same point as the MSS without additional material preceding—perhaps a remnant of a genuine defence speech sketched-

out by Lysias, or a practice exercise produced for the use of students, accepted as of Lysian authorship. Cf. K. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968) who notes (p. 160) that 'perhaps on occasion the original consultant put into circulation only that part of a speech which he regarded as likely to interest the general reader', so that in these cases 'the strictly forensic element in each speech was not committed to writing at all' (he adduces as examples the 'acephalous' speeches Isocr. XVI and XX, Lysias XVIII and the present speech).

Fr. 1

(Col. i lost)

Col. ii

χορωι τριακοσιας· τ[ον δε
 μεταξυ χρονον ετρ[ιηρα
 χ]ουν επτα ετη και εξ τ[α]λαν §3
 τ]α ανηλωσα και τ[οc] αυτας
 5 δ]απανας δα[πα]νω[μ]ενος
 και καθ ημε[ραν υ]περ υμων
 κ]ινδυνευω[ν και] απ[ο]δη
 μ]ων ομωc ε[ιcφορ]αv την
 μ]εν τριακου[τα μν]ας την
 10 δε] τετρακιc[χιλιαc] δρα
 χμ]αc ειcεινη[οχα επειδη
 δε κατ[επλευσα επι Αλε
 ξιου αρχο[ντος ευθυc εγυ
 μ]νασιαρχ[ουν ειc Προμη
 15 θε]α κ[αι] ενι[κων αναλωσαc
 δ[ωδεκα μνας και υcτε
 [ρον κατεcτην χορηγοc]
 παιδικωι χορωι κα]ι α §4
 νηλωσα πλειν η πεν]τεκ[αι
 20 δεκα μνας επι δε Ε]υκλει
 δου αρχοντοc κωμ]ωιδοιc
 χορηγων Κηφικοδ]οτωι
 c.16 κ]αι α
 ηλωσα c.11 α]να
 25 θεcει εκκαιδεκα μνα]c

Col. iii

και] Παναθηγαιοις τοις μι
 κροισ εχορ[ηγου]ν πυρριχι
 σταις αγε[νειοις κ]αι ανηλ[ω]σα §5
 επ[τ]α μ[νας] γενικ[η]κα
 5 δε τριη[ρει μεν] αμιλλ[ω]
 μενος επι Κο[υ]νιωι αναλ[ω]
 ςας] πεν[τεκαι]δεκα μνας·
 χωρις δ] αρχιθεωριας και
 α[ρρ]ηγοφοριας και αλλα
 10 τοι[α]υτα εις α εμοι δεδα
 πανητα[ι] πλ[. .]η τριακον
 τα μναι [και] τ[ουτ]ων ων
 κατελεξ[α ει εβο]υλομην κατα
 τα γεγραμ[με]να εν τωι νο
 15 μωι λητουργειν ουδ αν το
 τεταρτον μερος α]ναλω
 ςα· τον δε χρονον] ον ετρι §6
 ηραρχουν η [να]υς αριστα μοι
 ε]πλει παντο[ς του] στρατοπε
 20 δου· τεκμηριον δε του
 του υμιν μεγαιστον ερωξι
 πρωτον μεν χαρ Αλκιβι
 αδης ον εγω περι πολλου
 αν εποιησαμην μη συ^μν·
 25 πλειν μοι ουτε φιλ[ος] ων

Col. iv

ουτε [συγγενης ουτε φυλε §7
 της ε]πλει επι της εμης νεωσ
 (3 lines missing)
 ου[κ c.17
 (1 line missing)
 αρις[τα c.14
 κινδ[υνευ c.4 επειδη δε

10 ἐκεινου[ς μεν υμεις επαυ
 κατε της αρχ[ης α.5 Θρα
 ς[υλ]λου δ[εκα ειλεσθε ου §8
 τοι] παν[τες εβουλοντο
 τ]ης εμ[ης νεως πλειν α
 15 νε]βη με[ντοι α.10
 αυτ[οις α.10 γενο
 με[νων Αρχεστρατος ο Φρε
 αρρ[ιος αποθανοντος δε
 του[του εν Μυτιληνηι Ε
 20 ρασιν[ιδης μετ εμου συν
 επλ[ει καιτοι ουτω παρεσκευ
 ασμ[ενην τριηρη ποσα οι
 εσθε [αηλωκεναι χρημα
 τα η [ποσα τους πολεμιους
 25 ειργ[ασθαι κακα η ποσα

Fr. 2

Col. viii?

.
] – [
 εμων εμ[οι αμφιβητηται §15
 και πενητ[α γενομενον
 ελεησαι μα[λλον η πλου
 5 τουντι φθ[ονησαι και τοις
 θεοις ευχεσθα[ι τους αλλους
 ειναι τοιουτ[ους πολιτας ινα

Fr. 3

Col. ix?

.
]. [
 και ουκ . . . [§17?
 αλλ η . [
 απ . [

Col. ii

6 *υμων* is written further out into the intercolumnium than the other line-ends.

8 *ομως*. Of *ως* are visible tops of two uprights curving inward at top, followed by top of small round letter.

ε[*ιςφορ*]αυ: with Ω: emended to *εἰςφορὰς* by Markland (in J. J. Reiske's edition of 1772): <δὲς> *εἰςφορὰν* conjectured by Pluygers. υ is two uprights with a possible trace of a diagonal connecting at lower right.

10 Note horizontal line-filler taking up space at line-end to produce an even right-hand edge of the column.

22 *Κηφικοδ*]οτωι: with Ω, emended to *Κηφικοδώρω* by H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* (Oxford 1834) ii 97. The speaker claims to have produced a comic performance in the archonship of Euclides (402) for this poet. A poet whose name is preserved as *Κ[η]φικοδ[η]* appears in the list of victories at the Dionysia (*IG II² 2325.69*), identified as the old comic poet *Κηφικόδωρος* (*PCG IV*) named at Sud. κ 1565, as well as by Athenaeus, Pollux, Photius, and Herodian. Mention in Lysias XXI of a different, otherwise unknown poet Cephisodotus is possible, but identity of the two seems likely in light of the appearance of Cephisodorus in these authors in conjunction with Cratinus, Aristophanes, Callias, Diocles, Eupolis and other poets of old comedy who cohere around the date (402) stated in the text. The papyrus now lends Roman-period authority to the correctness of the MSS for the name of Cephisodotus in Lysias XXI, the earliest evidence for the poet's name. It may seem implausible that Athenaeus and others, who give quotations from his plays by title are all wrong about the name of the poet. Yet there is an identical interchange (*Κηφικόδωρος* for the correct *Κηφικόδοτος*) in ancient authors in the names of the archon of 358 (see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* ii 134).

23–4 The papyrus had 6–8 more letters in 23 and several fewer in 24 than the transmitted text (showing no sign of disruption at this point), which reads *Κηφικόδοτῶ ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς κευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς κτλ.* It is possible that *τῆς κευῆς* was not present in the papyrus in 24, but it is hard to see (given the syntax as transmitted) how it could have come in 23.

23 ι: the bottom of a vertical. In addition the scribe left a small space afterwards before α, suggesting that *καὶ ἀνήλωσα* was written.

Col. iii

2 *πυρριχισταῖς* correctly: *πυριχισταῖς* Ω.

8 Probably the papyrus had *χωρις δ]* with Ω, against *χωρις δέ* <εἰς> conjectured by Pluygers. That the scribe elided *δέ* is suggested by space and the scribe's practice elsewhere (cf. ii 15 *ου]δ αν*), but not certain.

8–9 *αρχιθεωριας*: with Ω: emended to *ἀρχιθεωρίαι* by Reiske.

9 *α[ρρ]ηγοφοριας*: *ἀρρηφορίας* Ω: *ἐρρηφορίας* conjectured by Robert. After the gap there is horizontal ink at the top-line connecting to an upright, η suggested, but also compatible with ρ. But the following two letters before *-φοριας* look like nothing so much as η followed by a tiny round letter with closed centre resembling the scribe's diminutive ο. These letters cannot be reconciled with the transmitted reading, but do not yield sense either. On the other hand, the papyrus does not confirm Robert's conjecture, adopted by Hude.

-φοριας: with Ω: emended to *-φοριαι* by Reiske.

10 *εις α*: with Ω: deleted by Pluygers: *εις* deleted by Francken.

11 *πλ[.]υ*: *πλέον* X: *πλεῖν* Ω. The papyrus does not decide.

12 [*και*] suggested by space, with Ω: omitted in Af.

16–17 *α]γαλω]σα*: *ἀνήλωσα* Ω. The triangular-shaped trace after *υ* suggests λ, i.e. *α]να*, and is incompatible with *α]νη* (apparently scribal error).

19 *ε]πλει*: with C: *πλεῖ* Ω

20–21 *τεκμηριον . . . μεγαιστον*: with Ω: *τεκμήρια . . . μέγιστα* conjectured by Zaka.

21 *υμιν μεγαιστον*: with Ω: *μέγιστον ὑμῶν* Af.

24 *μη*: with Ω: *καὶ* Af.

Col. iv

8–9 The text as transmitted reads *ἄριστα πλέουσαν, μέλλων αὐτὸς κινδυνεύειν*; i.e. it has 5–6 more letters than the papyrus in line 8. It is possible that the papyrus did not contain *αὐτός* (the sentence can be understood

without it, but the emphasis is clearer with it and there is no reason to doubt that it stood in Lysias' original). However, since μέλλων and the future infinitive is redundant, it is equally if not more likely that the papyrus lacked μέλλων in 8 and read κινδυνεύων in 9. If so, it could have been an original and correct variant. On the other hand, 6–7, with 32 letters between them (taking the average letter count as 20 per line and assuming that ρυ[κ is correct), have more space than the transmitted text requires. Did the papyrus have πλέουσαν before ἄριστα? That would fill exactly the space in 7, at the cost of an unexpected word-order (so unexpected that it could only be a mistake). On the other hand it would leave 8 slightly short.

10 *εκεινοϋ*[ς: with Ω: emended to *εκεινον* by Taylor. *υ* is a tiny trace of the tail of a vertical below the letter of the line, suggesting γ, τ, φ, excluding η. Defending the correctness of the plural Thalheim compares Xen. *Hell.* I 5.16.

11 The papyrus will not have had space for all of the transmitted *τοὺς δὲ μετὰ Θρασύλλου δέκα εἶλεσθε*. Either *τοὺς* or *μετὰ* must have been omitted, in error.

11–12 *Θρα|ς[υλ]λου*: with Ω: *θρασύλου* X. Spacing shows that X's corrupt orthography here was unrelated or subsequent to the papyrus' tradition.

13–17 Several divergences from the transmitted text are revealed by spacing: the layout of the papyrus text would require restoring:

τοι] παν[τες εβουλοντο
 τ]ης εμ[ης νεως πλειν α
 15 νε]βη με[ντοι πολλων λοιδοριων
 αυτ[οις γενο
 με[νων

thus leaving 16 too short, while 15 would be longer than the papyrus' line-lengths elsewhere (18–20 letters). One solution is that *πολλῶν λοιδοριῶν* was transposed en bloc in the papyrus after *αὐτοῖς* and before *γενομένων*. This will leave 15 too short, but trouble has long been suspected before *αὐτοῖς*: Kayser proposed <έν> *αὐτοῖς*, and Auger emended to *ἀλλήλοισ*. Neither of these will occupy all of the required space; at least one other word has dropped between *μέντοι* and this word. In addition, 16 in turn will be too long (25 letters). The simplest explanation might be a hyperbaton, *μ[εντοι λοιδοριων] 16 αυτ[οις πολλων γενο-*, but of course this still leaves 16 short, so that further emendation (*παμπολλων, πλειστων, γεγενη-*) would be required. It should be borne in mind that the papyrus may have contained corrections in the portion now missing.

17–18 *Φρε|αρρ[ιος*: with Ω: *φρεάριος* X. Note that as in 11–12 the papyrus does not agree with X in a minor error in orthography.

21 The papyrus will not have had space to restore *εἰς* before *οὔτω* as suggested by Naber.

22 The papyrus will not have had space to read *τῆν* after *παρεσκευασμένον* as suggested by Halbertsma (accepted by Thalheim, rejected by Hude, Albini, and Gernet and Bizos).

Cols. v–vii

These three columns containing §§9–14 are lost.

Fr. 2 (col. viii?)

The exact position and line-numbers in the column cannot be determined. Word- and letter-count suggest that the fragment came from the lower portion.

1 A near-horizontal line (with perhaps a slight hiatus in the middle), two to three letters in width (before the papyrus breaks off at right), slightly below the line of writing, such as one might expect from the lower horizontal of a flamboyant *z*. It stands at about the position of the second δ of the expected reading for the line: *(ὕμετέ)ρων ἐμοὶ διδόναι ἢ τῶν*. One could hypothesize the bases of two successive deltas slightly below the line, with iota floating higher in the line now out of sight, as of *δ[ι]δ[ο]ναι*, expected at this position. But the base of *z* elsewhere rides above the line at about mid-height. There is no reason to expect a line marking division in the text (as e.g. for the *μαρτυρία* after §10) at this point.

Fr. 3 (uncertain location)

The handwriting and line-spacing of this fragment are identical to those of fr. 1–2 (the back is likewise blank). But placement in *Or.* XXI, or elsewhere in the attested corpus of Lysias, is problematic (assuming the same MS as fr. 1–2, and not another text written by the same scribe). In *Or.* XXI the sequence *καίου* occurs only at §12 *καὶ οὕτω κτλ.* (apparently not our fragment) and at §17. Other occurrences in the corpus of Lysias do not come from passages compatible with the surrounding traces here. If the identification as from §17 were correct, word- and letter-count would suggest that the fragment came in the ninth column of the speech. However, there are problems. If the text came here we would have:

καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιούσι μέγα φρονῶ,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωμένοις
ἡγούμενος τούτων μὲν αὐτὸς αἴτιος εἶναι,

This would yield lines much longer than the scribe writes in fr. 1–2. Variation in line length from column to column, though not expected, is not impossible, especially in columns at some distance from one other. But there are contrary indications: after *οὐκ ἐπ[ι* and after *ἀλλ* the papyrus seems to diverge from the transmitted text (assuming the same MS as fr. 1–2). After the putative *ἐπ[ι* the space excludes the transmitted text; after *ἀλλ* the trace excludes it. Perhaps the papyrus text skipped from *ἀλλ'* to *ἡγούμενος* (and possibly part of the line beginning *καὶ οὐκ* as transmitted), but this still leaves 4 incompatible with anything in the text of Lysias as transmitted.

1 The trace is negligible, a dot at the level of the line.

2 After *οὐκ* the traces are the lower left portions of an elongated bowl (and perhaps part of a horizontal at mid-level) compatible with (if not exactly suggesting) *ε*, followed by the foot of an upright close-in, compatible with *π*.

3 Tops of two triangular letters, *α*, *δ*, *λ*, before the certain *λ*. But the following letter *η* does not conform to the expected *ἐπ'* after *ἀλλ'*. After *η* the surface is badly abraded: the extant trace at the top line would be compatible with either *τ* or *ο* from *ἡγούμενος*.

4 The first trace is a tall curving upright, bowing out to the right in the middle, not readily conforming to any letter in the scribe's hand (apparently nothing connecting at left, but ink may have been abraded). After this a triangular letter, *α*, *δ*, *λ*, before *π*. After *π*, *α* or *λ*.

D. OBBINK

4717–4725. ISOCRATES, *AD NICOCLEM* AND *NICOCLES*

This section contains all the unpublished papyri of Isocrates' speeches *Ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles* identified so far in the Oxyrhynchus collection. For lists of published papyri of Isocrates, see the on-line edition of the catalogue of Mertens–Pack³ at <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml>, and the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* at <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>.

Ad Nicoclem and *Ad Demonium* are the Isocratean speeches most frequently represented among published papyri. Thanks to their gnomological content, *Ad Nicoclem*, *Nicocles*, and *Ad Demonium* had a particular fortune in antiquity. They were known as *παραινέσεις* and were widely used for teaching: cf. the wooden tablets P. Kell. III G 95 and T. Brux. E 8507, and BKT IX 149, a papyrus carrying portions of *Ad Demonium* and *Ad Nicoclem* with a word-for-word translation into Latin (see K. A. Worp, A. Rijksbaron, *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 718–23).

Traditionally, scholars have divided the textual tradition of Isocrates into two

branches: Γ and its descendants Δ and E represent one, and the other MSS the other; this latter branch is often referred to as the *vulgata* (for the use of the term *vulgata* and the question whether the Δ has independent value, see now M. Fassino in I. Andorlini et al., *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate* (Firenze 2003) 151 ff.). The papyri show that any definitive separation between the tradition of Γ and the so-called *vulgata* does not go back to the Hellenistic period, as was once believed, and that papyri circulating in the Roman period presented differing combinations of variants (including variants that have not survived in the medieval tradition), some closer to Γ or to the vulgate, some more distant. Thus we need not reject on principle good readings of the vulgate MSS (see F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratestext* (Diss. Hamburg 1965) 17–21; K. A. Worp, A. Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex* (Oxford 1997) [hereafter: Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC*] 140–5, 149–50). The new papyri provide fresh support for the view that the text of Isocrates in the Roman period was mixed and the two branches were not yet separated.

A further point of interest is that the new papyri transmit portions of the text of *Ad Nicoclem* omitted in the quotations of this speech in *De Antidosi* in MS Θ , which have been considered later interpolations (Drerup and Mathieu–Brémond print them in smaller size). In this respect, they agree with the other papyri that contain the relevant sections of text.

The papyri have been collated with the edition of E. Drerup, *Isocrates: Opera omnia* i (Leipzig 1906), and compared with the editions of G. Mathieu, É. Brémond, *Isocrate: Discours* ii (Paris 1938), and B. G. Mandilaras, *Isocrates: Opera omnia* ii (Stuttgart/Leipzig 2003). For *Ad Nicoclem*, the reports of F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratestext* (Diss. Hamburg 1965), are taken from Drerup, except for N, which Seck collated himself. For P. Massil., the published transcript by B. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 596–643, has been used.

D. COLOMO

4717. ISOCRATES, *AD NICOCLEM* 1–3, 13–16

112/135(a)

13.3 × 10.2 cm

Third/fourth century

A fragment of a parchment codex containing a large portion of one bifolium (plus another fragment which presents only illegible traces and probably belonged to the edge of a sheet). Upper and lower margins are preserved to 1 cm and 1.8 cm. Inside margins to the fold are a minimum of 0.5 cm; outside margins are 1.3 cm. Each page originally measured *c.* 7.5 × 10.2 cm, with a written area of 5.8 × 7.4 cm; the four preserved pages contain 18 lines each. This is a miniature codex, belonging to group XIV of Turner, *Typology* 29–30. Most of Turner's examples are Christian texts, but note two other small parchment texts of Isocrates: VIII **1096** (iv AD) and P. Ant. II 84 (iii/iv AD).

Our bifolium must represent leaf 1 (pp. 1–2) and leaf 6 (pp. 11–12), since the text missing in between would occupy 8 pages, i.e. 2 bifolia. The speech begins at line 1 of page 1. Thus, unless there was some prefatory material, the first gathering was a ternio. Page 1 is written on the flesh side, as normal for the first page of a gathering (Turner, *Typology* 56).

In this format, the whole speech could be contained in 40 pages or a little more. Despite its size (and limited number of pages), the miniature codex is likely to have contained other speeches as well. It began with *Ad Nicoclem*, as can be seen from the fact that this speech begins with the first line of a right-hand page. (Otherwise we should need to suppose that the speech before it ended with the foot of a page, which would be statistically very unlikely; but if it ended in mid-page, the scribe would have begun the next speech at once; compare e.g. VIII **1096**, which contains the end of *Panegyricus* and the beginning of *De Pace* on the same page.)

Furthermore, there is evidence that the speeches *Ad Demonicum*, *Ad Nicoclem*, and *Nicoles* formed a group together. They occur in this order as speeches 5–7 in Γ (following the group of ἐγκώμια), and as speeches 1–3 in Λ and the list of Photius (see Drerup, *Isocratis Opera omnia* i p. lxxxix). Collectively, the three speeches were designated as *παραινέσεις* according to the anonymous *Vita* (Mathieu–Brémond, *Isocrate: Discours* i p. xxxiv), which notes that these are the first three speeches to be read; Ps.-Hermogenes, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* p. 441.19–20 Rabe refers to *Ad Demonicum* with the phrase ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν παραινέσεων. This arrangement goes back at least to the third/fourth century, as three different papyri show: (1) The same speeches occur in the same order in P. Kell., where the first and second are labelled *πρώτος* and *δεύτερος λόγος*; (2) In P. Massil., which transmits only *Ad Nicoclem*, we find an end-title *Ἰσοκρατους παρενησεων λογος BB* (the initial title is similar), interpreted as ‘the second speech of the second group’ (i.e. the *παραινέσεις*; cf. B. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 637); (3) A *sillybos* from Oxyrhynchus, *Ἰσοκρατους |]παραινεσεις*, presumably belonged to a roll which contained all three speeches (S. Stephens, *YCS* 28 (1985) 6–8; cf. the end-title *Πρὸς Δημόνικον παραινέσεις*, *ibid.* 5). However, we find papyri that do not present the order of speeches attested in medieval MSS, which advises caution; cf. P. Yale II 102 (ii BC), with *Helena* on the one side and *Plataicus* on the other, or VIII **1096** (iv AD), where *De Pace* follows *Panegyricus*. If our codex began with *Ad Nicoclem*, we have a parallel in PSI XI 1198, a papyrus roll where this speech begins with the first line of a column; compare also **4723** below.

The text is written in now-brown ink in a formal book-hand of medium size, of the mixed type, with a slight slant to the left. It is basically bilinear, although initial letters are frequently enlarged, and even internally letters are sometimes of uneven size. An even right edge is produced by adjusting letter-size at line end. There is some contrast in thickness between the strokes. α often presents a quite sharp wedge, especially when enlarged at the beginning of the line. β is very large; the lower lobe has a triangular shape. The right-hand oblique of Δ projects above the apex. ε is well rounded, and its central stroke tends to be rather high and extended. The arms of κ are rather long, and occasionally detached from the upright. The left-hand oblique of λ is shorter and thinner than the right-hand one. μ shows a deep curve. ζ has a 3-shape. In a number of cases the foot of the right-hand upright of π ends in a tiny hook. γ is V-shaped. φ has the central roundel oval-shaped. ω is quite broad and well-rounded; the stroke which separates the two lobes is quite extended.

The script looks back to Informal Round hands of the second and third centuries:

XXVI **2241** (*GMAW*² 22), Pindar; P. Lond. Lit. 27 (*GMAW*² 82), Demosthenes, parchment codex (both assigned to ii AD; but cf. *GBEBP* 3b); and PSI I 2 + II 124, Luke, parchment codex (iii AD); III **412** (*GLH* 23a), Julius Africanus (copied between 227 and 275/6). Closer parallels are VII **1007**, Genesis, assigned to the late third century, and **1010**, Esdras, fourth century (in particular for the contrast), PSI X 1171, Aristophanes, fourth century (*GBEBP* 12b). Thus a dating in the third or fourth century may be assigned. The ink type, rare before the fourth century (*GMAW*² p. 19 n. 107), inclines toward the later dating.

No lectional signs other than two middle stops indicating strong pause, added by the same hand (p. 11.1, p. 12.14). Elision is effected in most cases (p. 1.9, 13, p. 2.8 and probably p. 11.7), but there is one instance of *scriptio plena* (p. 12.9). Iota adscript is not written where required (p. 11.17, p. 12.1, 12). Some itacistic spellings (e.g. p. 1.1-2). In division the scribe syllabifies the group sigma + consonant after the sigma (p. 2.7-8, p. 11.5-6, p. 12.3-4).

The parchment attests some new variants: (if correctly read) a word-order of its own, which may be considered superior to that transmitted otherwise (p. 1.3-4); a possible omission (p. 2.3-4); and another curious reading, probably an error (p. 11.12). Of note also are: a (good?) reading shared by **4717** and the other papyri against the medieval manuscripts (p. 1.13); a case in which **4717** and two other papyri present a better word-order than the rest of the paradosis (p. 2.7-8); and its agreement with the two other papyri found at Oxyrhynchus, viz. **4718** and PSI 1198 (so far as these are preserved).

4717 overlaps with P. Kell. III G 95 (= M-P³ 1240.03), PSI XI 1198 (= M-P³ 1253), P. Massil. (= M-P³ 1254), P. Vindob. G 2316 (= M-P³ 1255), T. Brux. inv. E 8507 (= M-P³ 1257.01), and **4718**.

page 1

	οι μ]εν ειωθοτες ω Νε[ικο	§1
	κλεις] υμειν τοις βασιλε[υσιν	
	εσθητας αγειν η χρυ[con η χαλ	
	κον ειργασμενον [η αλλο τι των	
5	τοιουτων κτη[ματων ων αυ	
	τοι μεν ενδε[εις ειςιν υμεις	
	δε πλουτειτ[ε λιαν εδοξαν ειναι	
	μοι καταφανε[ις ου δοσιν αλ	
	λ εμποριαν πο[ιουμενοι και	
10	πο[λυ] τεχ[ν]ικω[τερον αυτα πω	§2
	λ[ουντες τ]ω[ν ομολογουν	
	τ[ων κα]πηλευε[ιν ηγησαμην	
	δ αυ [ταυτ]ην γε[νεσθαι καλλιστην	
	δω[ρε]αν [και χρησιμωτατην	

15 και μα[λι]στα [πρεπουσαν εμοι
 τε δο[υ]ναι κα[ι] σοι λαβειν ει δυ
 ν[ηθει]ην ορι[σαι ποιων επι
 τηδευμ]ατω[ν ορεγομενος και

page 2

τιν]ων απεχομενος α[ριστ α]ν
 κα]ι την πολιν και τ[ην βα
 σιλειαν] διοικουης τους μεν
 ιδιωτας ε]στι πολλα τα παιδευ
 5 οντα μαλιστα με]ν το μη τρυ
 φαν αλλ αναγκα]ζεσθαι περι του
 βιου καθ εκαστ]ην βουλευεσ
 θαι την ημερα]ν επειθ οι νο
 μοι καθ ους εκ]αστοι πολιτευ
 10 [ομενοι τυγχανουσιν ετι δ η παρ]
 ρησια και το φα]νερως [εξειναι
 τοις τε φιλοις επι]πληξ[αι και
 τοις εχθροις επιτ]ι[θ]εσθ[αι τα]ις
 αλληλων αμαρ]ταις [π]ρος
 15 δε τουτοις και τω]ν ποι[η]των
 τινες των προγε]γεννη[με
 νων υποθηκα]ς ως χ[ρη]ζη]ν
 καταλελοιπασι]ν ω[στ εξ α

§3

page 11

εχειν· αλλα τω[ν με]ν ακροα
 τ[ης γιγνου των δε μα]θητης
 και [παρασκευαζε] αυτω]ν
 των [μεν ελ]ατ[τωνων κριτη]ν
 5 των δε[ε μει]ζονω[ν αγωνι]ς
 την δι]α γαρ τουτ[ων τω]ν γυ
 μνασι[ω]ν ταχιστ [αν] γενοιο
 τοιουτο[ς] οιο]ν υπ[εθ]εμεθα
 δειν ειναι τον ορθω[ς βασι]λευ
 10 οντα και την πολιν ω[ς χ]ρη

§13

διοικησαντα μαλιςτ[α δ α]ν §14
 ουτως υπο αυτου παρακλη
 θει᾽ ἡς ει δεινον ηγησαιο
 τους χειρους των βελτειο
 15 νων αρχε[ιν] και τους ανοητο
 τερους το[ις φρο]νιμωτεροις
 προστα[ττειν] οσω γαρ αν ερ
 ρωμε[νεστερ]ως [την τ]ων

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αλλω[ν ανοι]αν ατιμασης
 τοσουτω [μαλλον την αυτ]ου
 δ[ιανοιαν ασκησεις αρ]χες §15
 θ[αι μεν ουν εν]τε[υθεν χρ]η τους
 5 μ[ελλοντας] τι ποιησ[ε]ιν των
 δεον[των]ν προς δε [τ]ουτοις
 φιλανθρ[ω]πον ειναι[ι] δει και
 φιλοπολ[ιν] ουτε γαρ ιππων
 ουτε κ[υ]νων ουτε ανδρων
 10 ουτ[ε αλλο]ν πραγματος ουδε
 νο[ς οιο]ν τε καλως αρχειν ε
 αν μη τις χαιρη τουτοις ων
 αυτον δει ποιεισθαι την ε
 πιμελειαν· μελετω σοι του
 15 πληθους και π[ερι] παντος
 ποιου κεχαρις[με]νως αυ
 τοις αρχε[ιν]ν γει[νωσκ]ων ο §16
 τι κ[αι των] ολιγ[αρχιω]ν και

page 1

1 This line probably coincides with the beginning of the codex, as in PSI 1198 it probably coincides with the beginning of the roll. In P. Massil. there is an initial title; in P. Kell. the text is preceded by a short elementary hypothesis (see Worp-Rijksbaron, *KIC* 30, 91). The medieval MSS contain an initial title: *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα (Γ)*, *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα περὶ βασιλείας (ΛΠΝ)*.

2-3 *ὑμῖν* (l. *ὑμῖν*) τοῖς βασιλεύειν with P. Massil. PSI 1198 P. Kell. ΛΠΝ: τοῖς βασιλεύειν ὑμῖν Γ. The ap-
 position normally follows the word it defines, but it can precede when it carries special emphasis (Kühner-Gerth,
Ausführliche Grammatik ii.1 282.2). Thus Blass accepted the reading of Γ as 'die gewähltere und ausdrucksvollere
 Stellung' (*JClPh* 129 (1884) 420), and P. Versmooten, *Isocratis admonitio Ad Nicoclem* (Leiden 1890) 34, thought that it

emphasised the ‘*notionem potestatis*’ in βασιλευειν. F. Seck, *Untersuchungen zum Isokratestext* 36 n. 1, argues for the majority reading, pointing out that none of the passages adduced in support of Γ involves apposition with a personal pronoun, as is the case here.

3–4 η χρυ[σον η χαλ]κον: ἢ χαλκόν ἢ χρυρόν P. Massil. PSI 1198 P. Kell. ΓΛΠΝ. χρυ[is doubtful, and χαλ[could be read instead, but κον is certain. Unless the scribe wrote χαλκόν twice, **4717** reversed the order of the metals. The parchment’s word-order can be evaluated in various ways: (1) From the rhetorical point of view, ‘gold’ should form the climax of the series, and therefore the order in **4717** is inferior. (2) From the point of view of the meaning, εἰργασμένον is more appropriate to χαλκόν, which as a raw metal is of low value, than to χρυρόν, which is precious even as a raw material and therefore needs no qualification (although Versmeeten, *Isocratis admonitio Ad Nicoclem* 34 points out a parallel in Verg. *Aen.* X 527 *aurum factum*). This favours the order in **4717**. However, the first argument seems to carry more weight, on the assumption that εἰργασμένον refers to both nouns, ‘objects worked in bronze or in gold’.

4 η αλλο τι restored with P. Massil. PSI 1198 P. Kell. ΛΠΝ on the grounds of space: ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι Γ. The former is clearly the inferior reading, because it produces hiatus (see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 37 n. 2).

12–13 ηγησαμην | δ αυ with P. Massil. PSI 1198 P. Kell. Γ^{PT}Λ^{PT}ΠΝ: ἐγὼ δ’ ἠγησάμην in Γ^{unc}Λ⁴. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 37–8, supports the minority reading with parallels, arguing that Isocrates uses a personal pronoun to introduce his own views or behaviour, in contrast with another’s.

13 ταυτ]ην γε[νεσθαι καλλιστην with P. Massil. PSI 1198 P. Kell.: γενέσθαι ταύτην καλλίστην Γ: ταύτην καλλίστην γενέσθαι Γ^{unc}ΛΠΝ. K. Münscher, *Quaestiones Isocratae* (Diss. Göttingen 1895) 17ff., argues that the demonstrative should stand first in the phrase, as at *Paneg.* 4 and *Hel.* 22.

18 Space excludes the longer version και τιων | εργ]ων; see next note.

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1 τυ]ων with **4718** PSI 1198 Γ: τίνων ἔργων P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ. The latter may be: (1) an interpolation from *Ad Demonicum* 5; (2) the genuine reading; Isocrates tends to such symmetric expressions, cf. e.g. *Epist.* VI 9 τίνα βίον προελέσθαι καὶ ποίας δόξης ὀριγνηθῆναι; (3) a normalization on the basis of Isocratean usage. See further Seck, *Untersuchungen* 38 n. 5.

3 διοικουης with P. Kell. ΛΠΝ: διοικῆς P. Massil. Γ (in PSI 1198 the space would allow either). The latter is clearly to be rejected as a mistake ‘*litteris omissis*’.

3–4 τους μεν | [ιδιωτας. All witnesses have γάρ after μέν, except Stob. 4.8.25 (presumably because these are the first words of his extract, so that γάρ would have nothing to which to refer). The space seems too short for the transmitted text, so perhaps the parchment omitted γάρ.

4 ε]στι πολλα with **4718** PSI 1198 ΛΠΝ: ἐστὶν πολλά Γ: πολλά ἐστὶν P. Massil. P. Vindob. G 2316: πολλα εστι P. Kell. The latter apparently produces hiatus, but may be a case of *scriptio plena*. For the paragogic -ν, see on **4719** ii 20.

4–5 τα παιδευ[οντα with **4718** P. Massil. ΓΛΠ: τα παιδευοντα φυσει P. Kell.

5 μαλιστα restored (by reason of space) with P. Massil. Γ: καὶ μάλιστα P. Kell. ΛΠΝ Stob. μάλιστα μὲν . . . ἔπειτα occurs three times in Isocrates, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν . . . ἔπειτα καὶ (Γ¹; ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ *cell.*) only at *Philipp.* 75, a similar passage in which καὶ introduces a more precise definition of a general term.

7–8 καθ εκαστη]ν βουλευε|[θαι την ημερα]ν with PSI 1198 P. Kell.: καθ εκαστην ημερα[ν βουλευ|εσθαι?] P. Vindob. G 2316: [?] | καθ [εκαστην την η]μεραν P. Massil.: καθ’ ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν βουλευέσθαι Γ: καθ’ ἐκάστην ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ΛΠΝ: βουλεύεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν (omitting καθ’ ἐκάστην) Stob. The reading of the vulgate MSS is an interpolation from §11, περὶ ὧν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἀγωνίζεσθε τὴν ἡμέραν, where the tradition shows a similar split concerning the word-order. In both places the word-order of Γ causes hiatus (βουλεύεσθαι, ἔπειθ’ . . . ἀγωνίζεσθε. ὧν), but there remains the question whether instances like these, where the final vowel could be elided or in the case of final αι shortened by correption, and where a short or long pause follows, should be treated as special cases (for the general question see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 277–81). In both places the word-order καθ’ ἐκάστην (τὴν) ἡμέραν unsplit conforms to Isocrates’ usage elsewhere (9 examples; there are also 9 examples of καθ’ ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτόν), see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 183. P. Vindob. G 2316 omits τὴν before ἡμέραν, as the MSS

frequently omit the article with forms of ἑκαστος elsewhere. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 43, argues in favour of retaining the article on the basis of inscriptions and papyri. S. Zajonz, *Isocrates' Enkomion auf Helena* (Göttingen 2002) 260–1, after examining the textual tradition of certain Isocratean passages where the phrase καθ' ἐκάστην (τὴν) ἡμέραν occurs, concludes that the presence of the article adds emphasis ('every single day'), while without the article the expression simply means 'daily'.

The lacuna in P. Massil. seems too narrow to allow supplying the verb βουλεύεσθαι which we expect: see B. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 628.

9 καθ ους restored with MSS other than P. Vindob. G 2316, which has καθως.

11 το φα]νερωσ with MSS: τὸ μὴ φανερωῶς Stob.

12 τε restored with the majority of the witnesses; N and Stobaeus omit it. But spacing does not prove that τε was present here.

13 επιτ]ι[θ]εξθ[αι is restored with PSI 1198 P. Massil. P. Kell. P. Vindob. G 2316, though space would not exclude επι]ι[θ]εξθ[αι, transmitted in ΓΑΠ. The aorist infinitive should be preferred to the present, since it forms a pair with ἐπιπλήξαι.

13–14 τα]ις | [αλληλων with MSS other than P. Kell., which has την αλλην (a mistake; see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 41).

15–16 και τω]ν ποι[η]των | [τινες with PSI 1198 P. Massil. P. Kell. P. Vindob. G 2316 Γ Stobaeus: τινὲς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ΑΠΝ. The latter looks like the secondary version, on the principle of *simplex ordo*.

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3 αυτο]ν restored with Π¹: σεαυτόν P. Massil. ΓΑ: δεαυτον P. Kell.: αυτον Π^{Pr}N. αυτο]ν has been restored here on the basis of the occurrence of the disyllabic αυτου on p. 11.12, but the trisyllabic form would fit the space equally well. αυτον in Π^{Pr}N may be considered a case of έαυτ-/αύτ- = σεαυτ-/αυτ-; cf. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* ii 327. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 62–3 n. 51, points out the paucity of evidence for this form in Isocrates.

4 ελ]ατ[τονων with P. Massil. P. Kell. Γ: έλασσόνων ΑΠΝ. The restoration has little palaeographical support, given the exiguous traces. In documentary papyri ησων and έλάσων fluctuate between -cc- and -ττ- (Gignac, *Grammar* i 146–8).

5 μει]ζονω]ν with P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΑ: μεγίστων Γ^{unc}ΠΝ. As Seck, *Untersuchungen* 60 n. 46, points out, μειζόνων is the genuine reading, since the comparative contrasts with the preceding έλαττόνων.

5–6 αγωνιc]]την restored with P. Kell. Γ: ανταγωνιστήν P. Massil. ΑΠΝ (too long for the space here). Isocrates' usage favours ανταγωνιστήν: he employs αγωνιστήν in the sense of *causidicus* (*In Soph.* 15; *Antid.* 201, 204; cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 269d), but ανταγωνιστήν in the sense of *aemulus* in military and political contexts (*Paneg.* 75; *Evag.* 31, 58; *Hel.* 29), in passages concerning sport (*De Big.* 33; *Paneg.* 73, 85), and referring to competition between the Sophists (*Hel.* 9). See B. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 603, and Seck, *Untersuchungen* 60 n. 47.

9–10 ορθω]c βαcι]λευ]οντα with P. Massil. ΠΝ: όρθῶς βασιλεύοντα P. Kell. ΓΑ. The choice between variants is determined satisfactorily by context: βασιλεύοντα and διοικήσαντα are trivializations of the future; cf. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 60 n. 48 (and the following note).

11 διοικησαντα with ΠΝ: διοικήσοντα P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΑ. The parchment exhibits an inferior reading, since the context requires the future; cf. the previous note.

μαλιcτ[a δ a]ν restored with P. Massil. (μαλλειcτα) P. Kell. ΓΑΠΝ γ (by reason of space): μάλιcτ' αν θ. The variant given by θ at *Antid.* 73 is to be rejected there also, since Isocrates does not begin his quotations in asyndeton (Seck, *Untersuchungen* 61 n. 49).

12 ουτωc: αυτόc P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΑΠΝ. The parchment's unique reading may be explained as a simple mistake, due to the similar spelling and pronunciation of the two words. It is, however, construable in itself: cf. *Ad Demonium* 35 οὔτω δ' αν μάλιcτα . . . παροξυνθείης, εἰ . . . έπιβλέψειας. And αυτόc υπό αυτου could well be a trivialization, in spite of the dominance of the sources.

αυτου with ΓΑ: σεαυτου P. Massil. P. Kell. ΠΝ. The interchange of the disyllabic and trisyllabic forms of the pronoun αυτου and σεαυτου, as well as αυτου and έαυτου, is particularly frequent in *Ad Nicoclem* and *Ad*

Demonicum, while in the other speeches the disyllabic forms prevail (cf. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 53–4 n. 35). In Attic inscriptions the uncontracted *ἐαυτοῦ* is almost universal before c.400 BC, and normal in the fourth century, *αὐτοῦ* being a less frequent alternative (Threatte, *Grammar* ii 315). In papyrus documents, the form *καυτοῦ* becomes less and less common in the Ptolemaic period, and occurs only occasionally in the Roman (Gignac, *Grammar* ii 168). Gignac suggests that these late examples reflect Atticist influence. It is possible that in the paradosis of Isocrates, especially in *Ad Demonicum* and *Ad Nicoclem* (the best known and most read of his works in antiquity), the common trisyllabic forms gradually penetrated and tended to displace the disyllabic forms which were peculiar to Attic. For the general inconsistency, compare the practice of P. Kell. (Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 45–6).

12–13 *παρακλήθη* with P. Massil. ΓΛΠ: *παρακληθεις* P. Kell. (a ‘iotacistic haplography’: Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 41).

13 A blank space seems to have been left before *εἰ δεινόν*. This may mark a pause or syntactic articulation, given that *εἰ δεινόν* begins the protasis of the conditional sentence (note that the *ε* of *εἰ* appears slightly enlarged). Alternatively, it may be just accidental, cf. the blank left in p. 12.16 between *ποιου* and *κεχαρις[μει]νως*, without any syntactic reason.

16 *φρο]νιμωτερος* with P. Kell. ΓΠΝ γθ: *φρονίμοις* Λ.

17 *οω γαρ αν* with ΓΛΠΝ: *όω γαρ* P. Kell.

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1 *ανοι]αν* restored *exempli gratia* with P. Kell. ΛΠΠ^{PT}Ν: *ἀνοιαν* ΓΠ^εθ. The space does not decide. For a discussion of the readings, see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 61–2 n. 50.

2 *καυτ]ου* with θ: *καυτοῦ* ΛΠΝ: *αυτου* P. Kell.: *αυτου* Γ δ: *αυτου* corr. Dindorf. The space would allow any of the variants, but *καυτ]ου* is restored because of the occurrence of the disyllabic form in p. 11.12.

5–6 *τι ποιησ[ε]ν των | δεον[τ]ω]ν* with P. Kell. T. Brux. ΛΠ: *τι τῶν δεόντων ποιήσεν* Γ θ: *τι ποιήσεν τῶν ἐνδεόντων* Ν. As Seck, *Untersuchungen* 64 n. 52, points out, usage recommends the word order in Γ θ (the sequence *τι τῶν δεόντων* occurs five times in Isocrates); *τι* is separated from its genitive only in particular cases of emphatic word-order. Ν’s reading is to be rejected because *ἐνδέω* does not occur elsewhere in Isocrates.

9 *ουτε κ[υ]νων ουτε ανδρων* with T. Brux. Γ (οὐτ’ ἀνδρῶν) ΛΠΝ: *ουτε κυνων ουτ ανδρων* P. Kell.: *οὔτε ἀνδρῶν οὔτε κυνῶν* θ.

10–11 *αλλο]υ πραγματος ουδε]νο[ς]* with T. Brux. ΓΛΠΝ θ: *αλλου τιμος πραγματος ουδενος* P. Kell.

11–12 *ε]αν* with P. Kell. T. Brux. θ (according to Seck): *αν* ΓΛΠΝ. In Isocrates’ paradosis this conjunction is transmitted in three different forms: *έάν*, *άν*, *ήν*. In many passages there is a split between the different witnesses. The following table illustrates the transmission in the new Oxyrhynchus items in comparison with the other witnesses.

<i>Ad Nicoclem</i> §15	<i>έάν</i> 4717	<i>έάν</i> P. Kell. T. Brux. θ
		<i>άν</i> ΓΛΠΝ
§26	<i>έάν</i> 4721	<i>έάν</i> P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΛΠΝ
<i>Nicocles</i> §15	<i>έάν</i> 4723	<i>έάν</i> P. Kell. ΛΠ Stob.
		<i>ήν</i> Γ

From the tables of Seck, *Untersuchungen* 46, and Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 47, it emerges that for *Ad Nicoclem* (which presents 11 cases) Γ tends to transmit *άν*, θ *ήν* and ΛΠΝ *έάν*, supported by papyri (apart from one case in §36, see Worp/Rijksbaron, *ibid.*). In other speeches the tendency of MSS is different. For example, for *Philippus* the MSS unanimously transmit *άν* 122 times (4 instances are supported by two papyri), *ήν* 24 times and *έάν* once; there is one case of a split between *άν* (Γ) and *ήν* (ΘΛΠ). For *Ad Demonicum* Λ tends to transmit *άν* against the rest of the MSS, which record *έάν* (cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 46–7). For *Trapeziticus*, the MSS unanimously transmit *άν* 23 times (two instances are supported by a papyrus), *έάν* 6 times; there are no occurrences of *ήν*, while there are two cases of split (*άν* ΓΠ: *έάν* Λ; *έάν* ΓΠ: *άν* Λ). In any case, epigraphic evidence shows that in Isocrates’ time the usual form was *έάν*; see Threatte, *Grammar* ii 672–4; E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii 3, 85.

17 *γε[νωσκ]ων* (l. *γι-*) with P. Kell. T. Brux. ΓΛΠ θ Antonius Monachus II 1 (*PG* 136.1008): *γιννώσκων*

Drerup. *γίνομαι* and *γινώσκω* are the normal spellings (for *γίγνομαι* and *γιννώσκω*) in papyri of the Roman period; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 176. However, both spellings may occur in the same manuscript in different passages: this is the case in P. Kell. (see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 38).

D. COLOMO

4718. ISOCRATES, *AD NICOCLEM* 2

51 4B.22/J(1–5)a

3.8 × 8.5 cm

Third century

A fragment of a roll with line-beginnings, written along the fibres and blank on the back. The upper margin is extant to 1.2 cm; the surviving intercolumnium measures c.1.5 cm. On average there were 12 letters to the line, which yields a written width of c.4 cm—a narrow column.

No lectional signs are present. The script is an unpretentious version of the ‘Severe Style’ in its mature phase; descenders tend to hook leftwards at the foot, ο is larger than usual in this type of hand, ω has well-rounded loops. A date in the third century would suit.

The papyrus overlaps with **4717**, P. Massil., P. Kell. III G 95, PSI XI 1198, and P. Vindob. G 2316. What is preserved shows no divergence from the text of the two other overlapping papyri of this speech found at Oxyrhynchus, viz. **4717** and PSI 1198.

	δου]]να[ι και κοι λαβειν	(§2)
	ει δυν[ηθειην	
	ορικαι [ποιων ε	
	πιτηδ[ευματων	
5	ορεγομ[ενος και	
	τινων [απεχο	
	μενος α[ριςτ αν	
	και την [πολι	
	και την [βασιλει	
10	α]ν διοι[κοιης	
	τους με[ν γαρ ιδι	
	ωτ]ας εκ[τι πολλα	
	τ]α παι[δευοντα	
	μαλιςτ[α μεν το	
	

6–7 *τινων [απεχο]μενος* with **4717** PSI Γ: *τινων έργων ἀπεχόμενος* P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ. Spacing excludes that the papyrus had *εργων*.

10 *διοι[κοιης* restored with **4717** P. Kell. ΛΠΝ: *διοικῆς* P. Massil. Γ. The line as restored seems short in comparison with the others; we may consider whether it ended with a punctuation mark or line-filler.

12 εϵ[τι πολλα] with most MSS (incl. **4717** and PSI): πολλα εϵτι(ν) P. Kell. P. Massil. P. Vindob.
13–14 P. Kell. adds φυκει after παιδευοντα, a variant not found elsewhere.

N. GONIS

4719. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 19–23

100/195(a)

17.9 × 17.5 cm

Third century

Parts of three columns (the middle one virtually intact), with intercolumnia of c.1.5 cm, written across the fibres of a reused papyrus roll. The upper and lower margins are preserved to c.2 cm. A sheet-join is visible on the left. On the other side and the same way up are parts of three columns of a list of village liturgists, assignable on the basis of the hand to the second century.

The text is written in relatively wide columns (7 cm), belonging to the ‘wider group’, identified by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions: An Analysis of the Evidence from Oxyrhynchus* (diss. Yale 1992) 167–77, 253–8. Johnson argues that oratory was not necessarily written in narrower columns (ibid. 211–5), and finds that most such wider columns have a height of more than 18 cm (p. 186), so that the column here is an exception, being relatively short (25 lines in 13.5 cm).

The text lost before col. i would occupy 9 or 10 columns (0.75–0.85 m of papyrus); the text lost after col. iii would require about 14 columns (1.2 m), so that the whole speech would need 27.5 columns occupying 2.4 m. Columns i and ii carry column-numbers, probably written by a hand different from that of the main text: ιδ and ιε (= 14 and 15). Assuming that all columns contained exactly the same number of words/lines, this implies that we have to account for three extra columns at the beginning of the roll. Perhaps they contained some prefatory material such as a *hypothesis* or *vita*, cf. the Kellis codex. Such numbering is relatively rare; five examples are cited in *GMAW*² p. 16: ; add LIII **3702v**, **3711**, LXIV **4432**, and P. Mil. Vogl. VI 260v (four of these nine contain commentaries or other textbook material, and another four non-classical literature). In P. Massil. each column (two or three per page) is numbered by a second hand. The document on the other side of **4719** has column numbers too (col. ii = 78). If the columns of the documentary text were roughly even in width (not a necessary assumption), we may extrapolate that 7.8 m of papyrus preceded. If the whole roll was recycled, there would have been 6.5 m to spare after the end of *Ad Nicoclem*. However, given the uncertainties about the order of Isocrates’ speeches, it is pointless to speculate about how many and which additional speeches (if any) were originally contained. In any case, the roll may have been cut down from its original 9 m. Many reconstructed rolls of single Isocratean speeches are shorter in their physical length, e.g. P. Lond. Lit. 131, *De Pace* 13–145, would have had 145 paragraphs in 49 columns of 4.25 m.

The script is a formal bookhand of medium size, upright, basically bilinear, apart from the uprights of ι, ρ, γ, φ, and sometimes τ, the lower loop of β, and the lower part of ζ, which protrude below the baseline. λ tends to be rounded, but sometimes is wedge-

shaped. The right-hand oblique of Δ projects above the apex. ϵ is rounded and has a long central stroke, thinner than the curve; but sometimes it is written more rapidly, so that the central stroke is drawn in one movement with the upper arc or the lower arc. μ presents a deep central curve; its two uprights tend to slant outwards. \omicron varies in size. The body of ϕ is rather flat. The pen seems to be crudely cut, and the scribe has some tendency towards connection of letters. Sometimes the feet of uprights present tiny rightward hooks, while the top may have a similar leftward hook.

The papyrus may be assigned to the third century. Compare III **412** (Roberts, *GLH* 23a), Julius Africanus, *Kestoi*, copied between 227 and 275/6. Cf. also P. Bodmer II (*GMAW*² 63), Gospel of St John, assigned by Turner to the first half of the third century.

There are no accents or breathings. Inorganic diaeresis in ii 12. Punctuation is by high stop in conjunction with a blank space and in some cases with a *paragraphus* to mark a strong pause. Elision is marked by apostrophes in i 2 and ii 10, but there seems to be a case of *scriptio plena* in ii 1. Iota adscript is written in i 3 and 8. The scribe has corrected himself *currente calamo* twice (ii 1, iii 23). It is unclear whether the correction in ii 2, marked in the left margin by $\Delta' = \delta\iota(\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omega\tau\alpha\iota)$ or $\delta\iota(\omicron\rho\theta\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu)$ (see K. McNamee, *Pap. Congr. XVI* 82 n. 10), is due to the first or second hand.

There are a few textual points of interest: a good word-order, in agreement with two papyri and θ (i 15–16); a new but inferior reading, partly supported by an indirect witness (ii 6); an agreement with the other papyri and one indirect witness against the medieval manuscripts (ii 7); an agreement with one papyrus and one vulgate manuscript over a superior reading (ii 12); and an apparent agreement with three other papyri and a part of the vulgate on a superior reading, though **4719** seems to have something curious, concealed under the damage (i 12–13).

4719 overlaps with **4720**, P. Kell. III G 95, P. Massil., P. Bodmer LII (= M–P³ 1257.02), and P. Köln VI 253 (= M–P³ 1257.03).

Col. i

$\iota\delta$

τ]ων ευθυς αφανιζο (§19)
 με]νων· αλλ' ε[ν] τε [τ]οις
 προ]ειρημενοι[ς] κ[αι] τωι
 κ]αλλει τω[ν] κτηματων
 5 και] ταις τω[ν] φιλων ευ
 ερ]γεσαις τα γαρ τριαυ
 τα] των αυ[α]λωμ[α]τ[ω]ν
 αυ]τωι τε οι π[α]ρ[α]μ[ε]νει
 κ]αι τοις επιγιγνομε
 10 ν]οις πλε[ιο]νος αξ[ια] των

κουντων την πολιν· οι
 κεια των καλωσ βασιλευ
 20 οντων εστι· δια παντοσ
 του χρονου την αληθει
 αν ου[τ]ω φαινου προτ[ι]μων
 ω[στ]ε πιστοτερουσ ειναι
 τουσ ς]ουσ λογουσ η τουσ των
 25 αλλω]ν ορκουσ· απασι μεν

§22

Col. iii

τοις ξ[ενοισ ασφαλη την
 π[ολι]ν [παρεχε και προς τα
 ς]υμβολαια νομιμον περι
 π[λειστου δε ποιου των
 5 α]φ[ικνουμενων μη τουσ
 ς]οι δωρ[εασ αγοντασ αλλα
 το[υ]ς πα[ρα σου λαμβανειν
 αξ[ι]ουνη[τασ τιμων γαρ τουσ
 τοιου[τουσ μαλλον παρα τοις
 10 αλ]λοις ευδοκιμησεισ τουσ
 φοβου[ς εξαιρει των πολιτων
 και μη [βουλου περιδεεισ
 ειναι τ]ουσ μηδεν αδικουν
 τασ· οπ[ω]σ γαρ αν τουσ αλ
 15 λουσ πρ[οσ σεαυτον διαθηισ
 ουτω κ[αι συ προς εκεινουσ
εξεισ· [ποιει μεν μηδεν
 μετ οργ]ησ δοκει δε τοις αλ
 λοις οτ[αν σοι καιροσ ηι δει
 20 νοσ με]ν φαινου τωι μη
 δεν σε λ[ανθανειν των γι
 γνομεν[ων πραοσ δε τωι
 τασ τιμ[ωριασ ελαττουσ
 ποιεισθ]αι των αμαρτανο
 25 μενω]ν [

§23

Col. i

1–12 Omitted (down to *καταλείψει*) by *θ*.6–7 *τα γαρ τοιαυ[τα]* with P. Kell. P. Massil. P. Bodmer LII ΛΠΝ: *τα [τοιαυτα]* P. Köln 253.7 *των αν[α]λωμ[α]τ[ω]ν* with P. Kell. P. Massil. ΛΠΝ: *των τοιουτων αναλωματων* P. Bodmer.

10 *πλε[ιο]νος* with P. Massil. (*πλιονος*) P. Bodmer (*[πλειο]νος*) ΓΛ² *Excerpta Parisina* : *πλεονος* P. Köln 253 ΛΠΝ: *πλειονας* P. Kell. (confusion between *ο* and *α*; cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KTC* 33). In Attic inscriptions forms of *πλείων* consistently have *ει* before *ω* or *ου*; before short vowel *ε* is normal in the fifth and fourth century, *ει* rare before c.300 BC (Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* i 321–2). Later *ει* tends to spread to all forms (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 153–4). We might expect Isocrates to follow the apparent Attic usage. But in his papyri and MSS *πλείονος* and similar forms predominate, with *πλε-* only as variant (see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 67 n. 64). Cf. also M. Gronewald on P. Köln 253.7.

αξ[ια] with all witnesses, except *αξιας* P. Kell. (careless error).

11 *δεδα]πανημενω[ν]*. At the start of the line, there does not seem to be enough room for *δεδα-*; but there are no attested variants, and it would be perilous to assume an error (*δα]πανημενω[ν]*).

12–13 *τα περι το[υ]ς [c.9] ποιει [μεν]*: *τὰ περι τοὺς θεοὺς ποίει μὲν* P. Kell. P. Massil. P. Bodmer ΛΝ θ: *καὶ περι τοὺς θεοὺς ποίει μὲν* Π: *τα] | προς τους θε[ου]ς ποιει] | μεν* P. Köln 253: *τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ποίει μὲν* Γ. *θεους*, expected at the start of 13, is too short for the space.

τὰ μὲν is transmitted only by Γ. In 4719 and P. Köln the words are in lacuna, but spacing seems to exclude *μὲν*. In any case, the repeated *μὲν* cannot be paralleled from Isocrates (Baier–Sauppe, *Oratores Attici* I.2 (Torino 1839) 157, produced similar passages from Antiphon and Lysias). As for choosing between *πρός* (P. Köln Γ) and *περί*, Isocratean usage favours the latter (see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 68–9 n. 65).

13 *ως* with P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΛΠ θ: *ων* P. Bodmer.

15–16 *ηγου δε του]το | [θυμα καλλιστον ει]ναι* with P. Massil. P. Bodmer θ: *θύμα τοῦτο κάλλιστον εἶναι* P. Kell. Γ: *τοῦτο εἶναι θύμα κάλλιστον* P. Köln ΛΠΝ. The restoration, though not entirely certain, seems to suit the space best. With the second reading (*θύμα* before *τοῦτο*) line 16 would be too short by c.4 letters; the third reading (*θύμα κάλλιστον* after *εἶναι*) would not fit at all. Editors have argued in favour of the first reading on the grounds of style: *θύμα κάλλιστον* corresponds symmetrically with *θεραπείαν μεγίστην* (Münscher, *Quaestiones Isocrateae* 17–18); *τοῦτο* should stand first, since it prepares the following subordinate clause (Seck, *Untersuchungen* 69 n. 67).

17 *και* with all witnesses except P. Bodmer, which omits it by mistake.

18 *αν* restored with Γ, against *ἐάν* (P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ) or *ἤν* (*θ*), but the space would allow any of these. *κα]ι* with all witnesses except P. Massil., which omits it.

19 *σευτον* restored with P. Kell. ΛΠΝ, against *σαυτόν* (P. Massil. Γ θ), since the trisyllabic form occurs in ii 7.

19–20 *παρ[ε]χ[η]ς* with ΓΛΠ θ (*πα[ρ]ε[χ]η[ς]* P. Bodmer): *παρασχης* P. Massil. P. Kell. B. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 629, points out that Isocrates uses both forms, present and aorist, without any distinction of meaning.

24–ii 20 θ omits the part from *τίμα ταῖς μὲν το βασιλευόντων ἐστί*.

24–ii 2 A difficult passage, where Γ and the rest of the MSS divide; the four papyri by and large agree with the so-called vulgate against Γ. Here is the text of Γ, with a summary of variants:

τίμα ταῖς μὲν (so P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ: *μὲν* om. P. Bodmer) *ἀρχαῖς* (so P. Bodmer P. Massil. ΛΠΝ: *αρχαίαις* P. Kell.) *τῶν φίλων* (*τῶν τιμῶν* P. Bodmer P. Massil. P. Kell. Λ: *τῶν τῶν τιμῶν φίλων* Π^{Pr}: *τῶν τιμῶν τῶν φίλων* Π^C) *τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, ταῖς δ'* (so P. Kell. (δ_ε) ΛΠΝ: *δ'* om. P. Massil.) *ἀληθείαις αὐταῖς* (*ἀληθεστάταις* 4719 P. Bodmer P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ) *τοὺς εὐνουστάτους*.

In 4719, the first clause is entirely lost. The standard text would require 53 letters (or 50 if this papyrus too omitted *μὲν*), i.e. 3 lines at the average of 17 letters, whereas we expect only two lines by comparison with col. ii. The traces of line-ends are too small to help. It seems that either the scribe wrote an extra line, or the text was substantially shorter.

The readings of Γ are difficult to explain. If we take them to mean ‘honour with offices the closest of your friends, and with actual realities the most loyal’, it can be objected that (a) *οἰκειοτάτους* elsewhere means ‘nearest relations’, without genitive; and (b) the contrast between *ἀρχαῖς* and *ἀληθείαις* is odd (see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 69–70 n. 68; Worp–Rijksbaron, *KTC* 239). Scholars who accept *ἀληθείαις* on the authority of Γ have explained

ἀληθεστάταις as an interpolation from §30 νόμιζε τῶν τιμῶν ἀληθεστάτας εἶναι μὴ τὰς ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ μετὰ δέουσι γιγνομένας, ἀλλ' ὅταν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες μᾶλλον σου τὴν γνώμην ἢ τὴν τύχην θαυμάζωσιν.

The 'vulgate' ταῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖς τῶν τιμῶν . . . ταῖς δ' ἀληθεστάταις also presents difficulties. Seck suggests 'honour your nearest relations with the beginnings of offices (i.e. lesser offices), but the most loyal with truest of-fices'. Yet that, as Seck himself says, gives a false suggestion of the Roman *cursus honorum*; and he offers no parallel for this use of ἀρχαῖς.

In any case, it is clear that the 'vulgate version' goes back to the Roman period. P. Kell. offers a new possible solution with its unique reading ταῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖαις τῶν τιμῶν, 'honour your relatives with the traditional honours, but the people who are most loyal with the truest ones'. Worp-Rijksbaron, *KIC* 239–40, argue that this was the original text: ἀρχαῖς arose by haplography, and τῶν φίλων as an explanation of οἰκειοτάτους. If this is right, note that ἀρχαῖς had already entered the tradition by the third century (the date of P. Bodmer).

Col. ii

3–4 του | ε]ωμ[ατ]ος ειναι with P. Massil. P. Kell. Γ^{1mg} Λ Π Ν: omitted in Γ^{PF}.

6 των α[λ]λων πολιτων: τῶν πολιτῶν Γ Λ Π Ν: τῶν ἄλλων P. Massil. P. Kell. P. Bodmer: τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν Antonius Monachus II 1 (Migne *PG* 136.1008). This variant can be explained in various ways. (1) An original τῶν πολιτῶν was corrupted to τῶν πολλῶν (cf. similar variants at *Philipp.* 136, *Evag.* 5), which was interpreted as 'the crowd', i.e. the rest of the people, and glossed with τῶν ἄλλων, which intruded into the text; see Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 630. Alternatively, it may be that a reader wanted to clarify the distinction between τῶν φίλων and τῶν πολιτῶν, given that friends too are citizens, and added ἄλλων (cf. *Evag.* 45 τοὺς μὲν φίλους . . . τοὺς δ' ἄλλους), which was then interpreted as a variant and replaced πολιτῶν. See Seck, *Untersuchungen* 71 n. 69. (2) An original τῶν ἄλλων was glossed τῶν πολιτῶν, which was taken into the text. In favour of (1) are other cases where ἄλλος may have replaced a noun or its epithet, see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 58–60 n. 43, 89 n. 137. In any case, **4719** seems to present a conflation of the two (partly in lacuna, but the space is too long for τῶν πολιτῶν alone). This might be the work of the scribe, who combined a reading and a variant found in his exemplar. However, Antonius Monachus shows that the same reading existed elsewhere in the paradosis (except that its text corrupts πολιτῶν το πολιτειῶν).

7 σεαυτου with P. Massil. P. Kell. P. Bodmer Antonius Monachus II 1: σεαυτοῦ Γ Λ Π Ν. For the alternation of the two forms, see on **4717** p. 11.3 and 12.

8–9 και | κτα[ε]θαι και [ω]ζειν with Γ: καὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ κτᾶσθαι Antonius Monachus: καὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ διακτᾶσθαι P. Massil. P. Kell. P. Bodmer Λ Π Ν. The compound διακτᾶσθαι is itself acceptable, since Isocrates uses the simple and the compound form of this verb almost as synonyms (Seck, *Untersuchungen* 71 n. 70). In this passage, however, according to Münscher, *Quaestiones Isocrateae* 61, the simple form is to be preferred for the sake of symmetry with the simple κτᾶσθαι.

9–10 τας | τ[υραν]ν[ι]δας with P. Massil. P. Kell. Γ Λ Π Ν: [τα]ς ὑπερ αὐτῶν σωτ[η]ριας τ[υραν]ν[ι]δας P. Bodmer (probably due to a mechanical mistake; see P. Schubert, *MH* 54 (1997) 105).

10 μαλιςτ' αν with P. Massil. P. Bodmer Γ Λ Π Ν: μαλιςτα δ' αν P. Kell. (wrong, since δέ does not make sense here).

11–14 κ[η]δου . . . των ζων. This section is transmitted in different ways by the different witnesses; cf. the notes below. P. Bodmer offers a completely different text, ηγον] τους | [της] πολεως ως τον ι[διωτην απο των] | [ιδιω]ν των ζων, on which see P. Schubert, *MH* 54 (1997) 105.

11–12 των οικων with P. Kell. Γ Λ Π Ν: omitted in P. Massil.

12 ιδιων with P. Massil. Λ: ιδιωτικων P. Kell.: ιδιωτῶν Π Ν: πολιτικῶν Γ. The reading of **4719** can be supported by several passages in which ἴδιος is used with οἶκος, usually in the plural, to indicate private property (*Nicocl.* 41, 55, etc.). In this context, it must be the property of private citizens, not the private property of Nicocles; the variants ιδιωτῶν and ιδιωτικῶν (cf. *Arotag.* 6 ἰδίων Γ, ιδιωτικῶν Λ Π) perhaps aimed to avoid this ambiguity (cf. Keil, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 630–1). τῶν πολιτικῶν of Γ would need to mean 'belonging to your fellow-citizens': see Mathieu-Brémond's translation and Münscher, *Quaestiones Isocrateae* 61, but Seck, *Untersuchungen* 71 n. 71, points out that Isocrates does not use the adjective in this sense (only at *Evag.* 10 does it mean 'common', 'ordinary').

12–13 νομιζέ [το]ύς with P. Massil. P. Kell. ΛΠΝ ('fort. recte' Seck): νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Γ. Both readings are acceptable; cf. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 71 n. 72.

13 δαπανωντας with Γ^{pr}: δαπανωμένους P. Massil. Γ^{unc} ΛΠΝ: δεπανωντες P. Kell. (confusion of a/ε, see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 32). Scholars have considered two arguments in favour of the medio-passive form: (1) from the point of view of style, it produces a homoioteleuton with the coordinate participle ἐργαζομένους; (2) from the point of view of sense, the middle 'spending from one's own means' suits the context better than the active 'spending' (from some other source). However, Isocrates has passages which offer active and medio-passive participles alternating in parallel clauses; and it is not clear that the distinction of meaning between active and middle is so clear-cut. See further Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 241–2.

13–14 ἀπο [τ]ῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἑῶν with Λ: ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῶν Γ^{pr} ΠΝ: ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῶν Γ^{unc}: ἐκ τῶν ἑῶν P. Massil.: ἀπο τῶν ἰδίων ἐκ τῶν ἑῶν P. Kell. The paradosis has ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῶν or the like (the variant ἐκ is less likely in Isocrates' usage; see Seck, *Untersuchungen* 71–2 n. 73). **4719**, P. Kell., Γ^{unc} and Λ add ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 241–2, consider that this was part of the original text. They support their view with two arguments. (a) ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων makes a good contrast with ἐκ τῶν ἑῶν. (b) Similar complementary phrases occur with forms of δαπανᾶσθαι at *Panath.* 12 and *In Call.* 63. This argument relates in part to the question whether the middle forms by themselves mean 'spend from one's own resources', whereas the active need specification. However, it can be argued that ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων destroys the symmetry of the sentence, where τοὺς δαπανῶντας is balanced by τοὺς ἐργαζομένους without any modifying phrase, and (ἀπὸ) τῶν ἑῶν ἀναλίσκειν by τὰ ἐὰ πλείω ποιεῖν. On the other hand, it could have been generated as an amplification, δαπανῶντας (ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων) ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῶν ἀναλίσκειν.

The reading of **4719** and Λ may result from incorporating the explanatory ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων into the text and then omitting the second ἀπό (if deliberately, was it understood as a single phrase, 'from your private property', or was τῶν ἑῶν taken as partitive genitive with ἀναλίσκειν, as at *Panath.* 12?). Note that **4719** combines a unique reading of Γ (δαπανῶντας) with a reading of the 'vulgate' MS Λ.

16 τα ἐὰ πλείω with P. Kell. P. Bodmer (τα ἐὰ [πλείω]) Γ Λ Π Ν: τας πλιω P. Massil.

17 ἀπαντα with Γ Λ Π Ν ([ἀπαν]τα P. Bodmer): πάντα P. Massil.: ἀπαντες P. Kell. (a mistake; see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 194). For the interchange of ἀπας and πᾶς, see **4721** 5–6 n.

γαρ with P. Kell. P. Bodmer Γ Λ Π Ν: omitted in P. Massil.

18–19 οἰκεία with P. Kell. P. Bodmer Λ Π Ν: οικία P. Massil.: οικειαν Γ^{pr}: οἰκεῖ' ἄν Γ²: οἰκεία ἄν Γ⁴. As Seck, *Untersuchungen* 72 n. 74, points out, the reading in Γ^{pr}, from which two corrections have originated, represents an attempt to adjust οἰκεία to the preceding noun πόλιν.

20 ἐστι with P. Kell.: ἐστίν P. Bodmer Γ Λ Π Ν: εργον ἐστω P. Massil. (an influence from §9). A part of the paradosis transmits the paragogic -ν, which here occurs at a strong pause. Paragogic -ν is used inconsistently in papyri of the Roman period; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 114 ff. (cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 273 n. 150). It is consistently written in Γ, also before consonants (see Drerup 1906, Praef. pp. lxvi–lxvii; cf. **4717** p. 2.4). As regards Isocrates' usage, Threatte, *Grammar* i 641, says that in inscribed decrees 'a gradual increase in the frequency of movable ny can be noted from the later fifth century until Hellenistic times, by which the use of it is virtually universal before vowels and pauses, and certainly normal before consonants'.

21 του χρονου with P. Kell. P. Massil. Γ Λ Π Ν θ: τοῦ omitted in Stob. 3.11.21.

22 ου[τ]ω with P. Kell. P. Massil. Γ Λ Π Ν θ: omitted in Stob.

23 ω[στ]ε with P. Kell. P. Massil. Γ Λ Π Ν θ: ὡς Stob.

24 λογους η with **4720** P. Massil. P. Kell. Γ^{pr} Λ Π Ν Stobaeus: λόγους μάλλον ἢ Γ⁵ θ. The second reading may be supported by a number of passages where a comparative is followed by μάλλον ἢ in phrases expressing choice/alternative (listed by Seck, *Untersuchungen* 73 n. 75). However, in these passages (apart from two) μάλλον may be considered a means of avoiding hiatus. Furthermore, μάλλον is not present in the two passages where the expression is closely paralleled: *Paneg.* 81 (πιστοτέροις τοῖς λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὄρκοις χρώμενοι) and *Busir.* 25 (ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους πιστοτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἱεροῖς ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθεστῶτας).

24–5 τῶν | [αλλῶ]ν with **4720** (but partially in lacuna) P. Massil. Γ Λ Π Ν θ: P. Kell. and Stobaeus omit τῶν.

ii 25–iii 25 θ omits the portion of text from ἅπασιν μὲν τοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων.

Col. iii

2 παρέχε restored with P. Massil. P. Kell. ΓΑΠ: παρέχε Ν.

2-3 και προς τα] | ζψ[μβολαία νομιμον with MSS other than P. Massil., which omits it. Spacing shows that the words were present in **4719**.

6 αγωντας restored with Γ: εικάγοντας P. Kell. ΑΠΝ, but this would be too long for the space. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 73 n. 77, argues on the basis of syntax and Isocratean usage that the compound in this passage is to be rejected.

10-11 τους] | φόβον[ς] with P. Massil. P. Kell. ΑΠΝ: τους πολλούς φόβους Γ (too long for the space here). Seck, *Untersuchungen* 73 n. 78, points out that Isocrates never uses πολύς with the article in the attributive position.

11 εξαιρει is restored with P. Kell. and Γ (see Worp-Rijksbaron, *KIC* 39, 194), against the middle ξξαιροῦ (Α¹ΠΝ). See Seck, *Untersuchungen* 73 n. 79.

12-14 περιδεεις] | είναι τ[ους μηδεν αδικουν]]τας with P. Kell. Γ: περιδεής είναι τοίς μηδέν αδικούειν ΑΠΝ. In the latter reading, περιδεής must have a causative meaning, i.e. 'inspiring great fear'. Seck, *Untersuchungen* 73-4 n. 80, objects that this sense is first attested in Alciphron II 4 (4.19.12 Schepers).

15 For the restoration of σεαυτον (ΑΠΝ; cf. P. Kell. προσεαυτον) against αυτον (Γ), see ii 7.

διαθηρις restored with ΓΑΠΝ: διατιθηρις Γ^{unc}, which would not be excluded by the space.

19-20 δει]]νος με]]ν with ΓΑΠΝ: δεινος λαι μεν P. Kell. (cf. Worp-Rijksbaron, *KIC* 194).

24-5 των αμαρτανο]]μενων with ΓΑΠΝ: της της των αμαρτανομενον P. Kell.

D. COLOMO

4720. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 22

102/195(d)

2.75 × 2.3 cm

Second century

A scrap of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres. The back is blank. The original column must have contained on average 14 letters per line. This means that it was about 5 cm wide, i.e. in the 'narrower class' discussed by Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* 253. Both left and right margins are missing, so that the division of lines is *exempli gratia*. The diminutive ο at the end of line 1 suggests the scribe is nearing the end of the line; the text has been laid out on this lineation.

The script belongs to the 'Formal Round Style' (Turner's first type: *GMAW*² p. 21). It is basically bilinear; only τ, ρ, and γ protrude slightly below the baseline. There is some contrast between thick vertical strokes and thin horizontal ones. The lower or upper ends of vertical strokes sometimes have a hook or semi-serif to the left (cf. in particular ρ in 3), while crossbars may carry a very small initial or final blob. The most peculiar feature of this hand is the shape of ω, very broad and rectangular: three verticals of the same height are joined by two horizontals at the baseline. Other letter-shapes of note: the diagonal of ρ starts from the middle of the left-hand upright; ζ consists of two horizontal strokes linked by a sinuous stroke; ο is well-rounded and occupies almost the entire writing-space (except for the smaller ο at the end of 1); ρ has a rather small head.

The scribe may be identified on the basis of the idiosyncracies described above with the writer of at least four literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus: XXIII **2373** (pl. XI), Boeotian Verse; XXIV **2404** (pl. XIII), Aeschines; PSI IX 1090 (pl. IV), Erinna; and now **4688**, Isocr. *De pace* 96. All are high-quality manuscripts of classical authors, produced by

9 οιον χρη restored with MSS other than P. Kell., which gives *διον ειναι χρη* (too long for the space here).

9-10 ω[[*επερ*. One would expect to see a trace of *ς*, if the latter were written at the end of the line.

ω[[*επερ εν τωι παροντι* restored with P. Kell. ΓΛ, against *ως εν τωι παρόντι* (NII), which is too short for the space: *ωεπερ των παροντων* P. Massil. (by attraction to the following genitive *μετρίων*).

D. COLOMO

4722. ISOCRATES, AD NICOCLEM 29-30

46 5B.51/F(1)d

4.4 × 6.3 cm

Second century

A scrap of a roll with line-beginnings, written along the fibres; the upper margin measures 3 cm, and is probably complete. Line length ranges from 20 to 22 letters (c.7 cm). The other side carries what seems to be a medical text, written across the fibres.

The hand is a round informal one, to be assigned to the second century, earlier rather than later. It is generally bilinear, but letter height varies. Left-facing serifs are attached to the feet of some uprights. β has a broad base; ο is smallish; γ has a long left- and a short right-hand oblique. Somewhat comparable are Roberts, *GLH* 11b and 13b.

There is one breathing mark (7). Elision is effected but not marked. Deletion dots are apparently used in 1, perhaps by the original scribe. A second hand (different ink) has made a supralinear addition that I cannot interpret; see 5 n.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Massil. and P. Kell. III G 95. The text offers no surprises.

αλλ επ εκειν[αις ταις δια (§29)
 τριβαις εθιζε [σεαυτον χαι
 ρειν εξ ων α[υτος τ επι
 δ]ωσεις και τ[ο]ις [αλλοις βελ
 5 τι]ων ειναι δοξ[εις μη φαι
 νου φ]ιλοτιμουμ[ενος επι §30
 τοις τοιο]υ[τ]οις α κ[αι τοις

1 επ. Two ink spots above the two letters, perhaps cancelling dots, intended to delete the preposition (leaving *χαίρειν* construed with simple dative).

1-2 επ εκειν[αις ταις δια]τριβαις εθιζε [σεαυτον with most MSS of *Ad Nicocl.*: εθιζε σεαυτον επ' εκείναις ταις διατριβαίς θ.

2 σεαυτον restored with P. Massil. P. Kell. Λ: *σαυτόν* Γ.

2-3 χαι]ρειν with P. Massil. P. Kell. Γ^{pt} ΕΛΠΙΝ θ: *διατελείν* Γ^{unc}.

3-4 επιδ]ωσεις. After this, P. Massil. adds *προς αρετην*.

5 ειναι. Above ε, what could be an angular circumflex (an unusual shape); above ι, a circlet open at lower right, apparently not a breathing. Are these letters or diacritics?

ειναι δοξ[εις. *δόξεις* is not present in P. Massil.

N. GONIS

4723. ISOCRATES, *NICOLES* 12–15

81 2B.85/13(a)

11.6 × 10.4 cm

Second/third century

The lower part of two columns, written along the fibres. The back is blank. Lower margin 3.3 cm; intercolumnium 1.3 cm. The width of the column was 6.5 cm, i.e. in the 'broader' group identified by Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* 167–77, 253–8. Column ii originally contained 35 lines; the column-height can be estimated at *c.*17.5 cm, the roll-height at *c.*23 cm, assuming an upper margin of *c.*2 cm, i.e. less deep than the lower margin (though cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* 165–6, 195–202). A column contained about 145 words; the first part of the speech would fit neatly into four columns before the first of our papyrus. The whole speech (3975 words) would require about 27.5 columns, i.e., about 2.1 m of papyrus, making it likely that the roll contained other speeches.

The script is a version of the Severe Style, written rather small and vertically compressed. ρ, τ, and γ extend their uprights below the base-line. α presents a sharp wedge-shape. The right-hand diagonal of α protrudes above. ε is rather narrow and extends its central stroke. The diagonal strokes of κ are quite long and may be detached from the upright. ο is very small and lies in the upper part of the writing-space. c presents a flat top. γ is written in two movements, the left-hand diagonal first, then the right-hand diagonal and upright. ω is rather square and does not present a definite division into two lobes, but its base consists of a horizontal at line-level. The scribe effects an even right-hand margin by reducing letter size at line-end.

The script may be assigned to the late second or early third century by comparison with relatively securely dated examples of similar type: I 26 (pl. VII; Roberts *GLH* 19a), Demosthenes, second century (of which the verso presents a documentary script assigned to the late second or early third century); XVIII 2098 (pl. III; Roberts *GLH* 19b), Herodotus, first half of the third century (land survey probably of the reign of Gallienus on verso); I 23 (pl. VI), Plato, third century (the back carries a date-formula of 295); III 447 (pl. VI), Homer, *Iliad*, second half of the second century (the back carries cursive assigned to the late second or early third century).

No lectional signs other than the inorganic diaeresis in ii 5. Elision is usually effected, but *scriptio plena* occurs in ii 7. Iota adscript is written correctly in ii 15, and spacing suggests that it should be restored in ii 13.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Kell. III G 95. The only textual points of note are the agreements with P. Kell. and Γ against the rest of the tradition in i 10 and ii 8–9.

Col. i

βουλευειν μονον γενοιμη]ν (§12)
και ταυτ απαριθμησα]ς απαλ

[λαγειην αλλ ει προεπιδει]
 ξαιμι πρωτον μεν τ]η[ν] πο
 5 λιτειαν την παρ]ουσαν ως
 αξιον εστιν αγ]α[πα]ν ου μο
 νον δια την α]ναγκην ου
 δ οτι παντα τον χρο]ν[ο]ν με
 τα ταυτης οικου]μεν αλλ οτι
 10 βελτιστη τω]ν πολειτιων
 εστιν επειθ ω]ς εχω ταυτην §13
 εχω την αρχη]ν ου παραγο
 μως ουδ αλλο]τ[ρι]αν αλλ ος[[ιωσ

Col. ii

(18 lines missing)

]. [
 τειν και τιμασθαι κα]τα τ[ην
 αξιαν εκαστο]υς αι μεν τ[οι
 5 νυν ολιγαρχ]ιαι και δη[μο
 κραταια τα]ς ἰσοτητας το[ις
 μετε[χουσι]ν των πολιτε[ιων
 ζητου]σι]ν και τουτο ευδ[ο
 κιμει παρ αυταις εαν μ[η
 δε[ν ε]τερος ετερου [δ]υνη[τα]ι
 10 π[λεο]ν εχει[ν] ο τοις πονηροις
 συμφερο]ν ε[σ]τιν αι δε μο
 ν[αρχιαι π]λει[σ]τον μεν νε
 μ[ουσι τωι βελτιστ]ω[ι] δε[ν
 τερωι δε τ]ωι μετ εκεινον
 15 τρ[ιτωι δε] και τεταρτωι και
 το]ις αλλοις κατα τον αυτω]ν
 λ[ο]γον και ταυτ ει μη π[αντα

Col. i

2–3 και ταυτ απαριθμησα]ς απαλ[[λαγειην with MSS other than Λ, which omits this clause.

3–4 προεπιδειξαμι restored *exempli gratia* with P. Kell. Γ: προεπιδείξαμι ΛΠ. Space would allow either.8–9 με[[τα ταυτης restored with ΓΛΠ: μετ αυτης P. Kell. (by haplography? Worp–Rijksbaron, *KTC* 216, argue that μετὰ ταύτης is a dittography).

10 βελτιστη τω]ν πολειτων (l. πολιτειων) with P. Kell. Γ: καὶ βελτιστη των άλλων πολιτειων ΛΠ. The reading of ΛΠ is a case of *lectio longior*, frequent in the vulgate MSS; for a similar intrusion of άλλος (excluded by space in the papyrus), see on 4719 ii 6.

13 ος seems to suit the traces better than ο> (space-filler) or οςι. If this is correct, the scribe broke the normal rule by dividing ος|ωος at line-end (we expect ος|ωος or οςι|ωος).

Col. ii

3 εκαστο]υς with ΓΛΠ: εκαστον P. Kell.: omitted by Stobaeus.

3-4 τ[οι]νν with ΓΛΠ: τοινν ουν P. Kell., which is too long for the space here. The reading of P. Kell. is a mistake: either a conflation of variants μὲν τοίνυν and μὲν οὖν or a reminiscence of the use of τοίνυν οὖν in the spoken language, attested in documentary papyri from the third century onwards (see P. Kell. I G 65.8 n.).

8 παρ αυταις with MSS other than P. Kell., which gives παρ αυτης.

εαν with P. Kell. ΛΠ Stobaeus: ην Γ. See on 4717 p. 12.11-12, and cf. on 4721 5.

8-9 μ[η]δ[ε]ν with P. Kell. Γ Stob.: μηδ' ΛΠ.

13-15 δε[ν]τ[ε]ρωι . . . τρ[ι]τωι δε και τεταρτωι with MSS other than Λ⁴ and Stob. (codex B), which have δεύτερον . . . τρίτον δε και τέταρτον.

14 δε τ[ω]ι μετ with Γ^{pr} ΛΠ Stob. cod. A: δε τὸ μετ' Γ⁴ Stob. codd. MS: δε μετ' P. Kell. (carelessly omitting the article).

εκεινογ with MSS: εκείνο Stob. codd. AM.

D. COLOMO

4724. ISOCRATES, *NICOCLES* 31-4

37 4B.106/F(3-4)c

10 × 16 cm

Third/fourth century

A fragment of a papyrus codex, with remains of 21 lines across the fibres (a right-hand page) and 22 lines along the fibres on the back (a left-hand page). The upper margin is preserved for 2 cm. The outer margins reach 1.5 cm (↓) and 1.7 cm (→). The complete page contained 23 lines of 22-24 letters each. The written area was about 7.2 × 14 cm. Assuming a lower margin of 3 cm (i.e., in proportion of 3 : 2 to the upper margin: Turner, *Typology* 25), the size of the original page was 9.7 × 19 cm. Thus it may be included in Turner's group 8 (*Typology* 20), in the subgroup 'less than 12 cm broad'. Since each page contained c. 110 words, the whole speech would have occupied 36 pages (18 leaves).

The script is a 'formal mixed' one of medium size, with a slight slant to the right. Some combinations present ligatures. α presents an oval loop. The right-hand diagonal of Δ protrudes above. The lower oblique of κ is linked to the upper oblique instead of being linked to the upright. μ is very broad; the central elements form a wide curve approaching the baseline. The oblique and the right-hand upright of ν appear to be drawn in one movement, so that the join is a curve instead of an angle. ζ (↓8) consists of a horizontal in the upper part of the writing-space, with a Z-shaped sign below. ο is rather small and usually lies high. ω is usually wider than it is high; its left-hand lobe is rather oval, slightly protruding to the left.

For comparison see I 23 (pl. VI) (before AD 295). There are also similarities with hands assigned to the early fourth century, e.g. P. Chester Beatty XI, LXX *Ecclesiasticus* (GBEP

2b). Thus **4724** may be assigned to the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.

There are a variety of lectional signs, some at least by a second hand. Accents, diaereses and punctuation are sometimes in a lighter ink. There are rough breathings (↓5, →18); inorganic (↓4) and organic (→8) diaerceses; acute (↓5) and circumflex (↓19, →9) accents; long and short quantity marks (rare in prose texts), probably by the same hand (↓11). Compare I **25**, LVI **3849**, **3850**, and LXII **4321** (Demosthenes), the last perhaps marked up for use in school, where quantity marks are equally rare; see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 86; cf. P. Amh. II 21 = Cribiore no. 368, A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Bruxelles 1979) 188-97 with pl. viii, and XLIX **3453-4**, lists of *prosodiai* perhaps intended for school use. The breve occurs normally on vowels of ambiguous quantity (*a ι υ*); over *o* it is otiose, but perhaps it stands in ↓11 to mark the unusual sequence -*ao*-.

The position of the punctuation marks suggests that they are a later addition: high stop (↓5 between two contrasting clauses; →8 between the main verb and the participial clauses attached to it; →9, between two participial clauses contrasted by means of *μέν . . . δέ*); middle stop (→6 between two participial clauses contrasted by means of *μέν . . . δέ*). Thus the high and middle stops do not seem to have distinct syntactical functions (cf. *GMAW*² p. 9). A slightly forked *paragraphus* occurs between →2 and 3 (marking end of sentence, perhaps originally supplemented by a stop in the line). No *paragraphus* was written to correspond with the stops within the sentence in →6 and 8. A space-filler occurs in ↓4.

Scriptio plena occurs twice (↓1, →12), but elision is elsewhere effected, in three cases marked by apostrophe (↓4 and →18 probably by the same hand; in ↓5 a later addition, but probably by the same scribe). Unmarked elision in ↓4, perhaps sufficiently indicated by the aspiration of the preposition. An apostrophe in →2, added by the scribe, separates double consonants. Iota adscript is written (↓19, →5, probably →6).

The papyrus overlaps with P. Kell. III G 95. It does not present any remarkable deviation from the standard text; it may be worth mentioning the agreement with Γ in ↓17 (word-order). The other agreement with Γ^{PF} (and P. Kell.) in ↓7 represents a variation of tense (or perhaps a misspelling).

↓ εκ παντος] τροπου τα cφετερα αυτων (§31)
 διορθουμεν]ους και πολλα παρα την
 φυσει την α]υτων πραττειν αναγ
 καζομενου]ς ομως ουδ' υφ ενος > §32
 5 τουτων διε]φθαρην· αλλ' ούτως οσι
 ως και καλ]ως επεμελη[θη]ν των
 πραγματων ω]στε μηδεν [ελ]λιπειν
 εξ ων οιον τ]ην αυξηθη[ναι] και
 προς ευδαιμο]νιαν επιδ[ουνα]ι τ[ην]

10 πολιν προς τε] γαρ τους [πολιτας
 μετα τοιαυτης] πῤαῶτη[τος προση
 νεχθην ωστε μ]ητε φυγ[ας μητε θα
 νατους μητε] χρημα[των αποβο
 λας μητ αλλ]ην μηδ[εμιαν τοιαυ
 15 την συμφ]οραν επ[ι της εμης γε
 γενησθαι] βασιλει[ας αβατου δε §33
 της Ελλαδο]ς ημιν ο[υσης δια τον
 πολεμο]ν τον χει[ενημενον
 και πα]νταχῆι ς[υλωμενων η
 20 μων τα πλ]ε[ι]στα του[των διελυσα
 τοις μεν α]παντ [αποτινων τοις
].[
 (1 line missing)

→ ηδυναμην περι τ[ων εγκλημα
 των διαλλατ'τομε]νος ετι δε και
 > των την νησον οικουντων δυ
 σκολως προς ημας δ[ιακειμενων
 και βασιλεως τωι μ]εν λογωι δι
 5 ηλ[λα]χμενου· τηι δ' αληθειαι
 τραχ[ε]ως εχοντος [αμφοτερα ταυ §34
 τα κ[ατ]επραϋνα· τ[ωι μεν προθυ
 μ[ως υ]πηρετων· π[ρος δε τους
 10 δικαιον εμ]αυτον π[αρεχων
]ω δέω τ[ων αλλοτριων
 επιθυμει]ν ωστε [ετεροι μεν ην και
 μικρωι μει]ζω των [ομορων
 δυνα]μιν εχω[σιν αποτεμ
 15 νονται] της γης [και πλεονεκ
 τειν ζη]τουσιν [εγω δ ουδε την
 διδομεν]η[ν] χω[ραν ηξιωσα λα
 βειν αλ]λ' αίρο[υμαι μετα δικαιο
 συνης]. . .[
 20].[

]. [
]. . [
 (1 line missing)

↓ 2 παρα with P. Kell. ΓΠΝ: πρόσ Λ.

3–4 αναγ|[καζομενου]ς with ΓΛΠ: ηναγκασμενους P. Kell.

6 καλ]ως restored with ΓΛΠ: δικαιως P. Kell., which could also suit the space here. Cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 223.

6–7 επεμελη[θη]ν των | [πραγματων with ΓΛΠ: επεμεληθην P. Kell. Cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 223.

7 ελ]λιπειν with P. Kell. Γ^{pr}: ελλειπειν ΛΠΓ². The morphological distinction between aorist and present is complicated by the phonetic convergence of ι and ει (Threatte, *Grammar* i 199–202; Gignac, *Grammar* i 189–91). Cf. Mandilaras, *The Speech ‘On the Peace’ of Isocrates* 30–1. Similar variations appear in *Nic.* 47 (sec on 4725 ↓5–6) and 48 (-λειπ- Γ: -λιπ- P. Kell. ΛΠ). It is difficult to tell how far Isocrates himself would have made a sharp distinction between the tenses; the paradosis unanimously offers the aorist in *Philipp.* 85, the present in two passages very similar to the present one (*Nicocles* 64 and *Evag.* 80).

11 τοιαυτης restored *exempli gratia* with Γ: τοσαύτης P. Kell. ΛΠ.

11–12 προσηνεχθην restored on grounds of space with ΓΛΠ: ηνεχθην P. Kell. According to Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 43–4, the use of the simple verb is an idiosyncrasy of the Kellis codex.

17 της Ελλάδος]ς ημιν with P. Kell. (spelled ελλατος) Γ: ήμιν τής Ελλάδος ΛΠ (Ελλάδος Π).

19 πα]νταχῆι with P. Kell. ΓΛ: πανταχοῦ Π.

ς[υλωμενων restored with P. Kell. Γ: κυλουμένων ΛΠ.

→ 1 ηδυναμην with ΓΛΠ: εδυναμην P. Kell.

2 διαλλατ'τομεξ[νος with Γ²ΛΠ (διαλαττόμενος Γ^{pr}): ελαττομενους P. Kell.

3 ρικουντων with ΓΛΠ: κατοικουντων P. Kell. Cf. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 223.

3–4 δυ]σκολως with P. Kell. Γ^{pr}Λ^{pr}Π: σφόδρα δυσκόλως Γ⁵: φθονερώς Λ¹ in the margin.

5 τωι μ[εν λογωι with ΓΛΠ: τον μεν λογου P. Kell., by mistake.

8–9 προθυ]μ[ως with ΓΛΠ: προθυμοτατα P. Kell., which would be too long for the space here.

10–11]ω δέω: τοσούτου γὰρ δέω P. Kell. ΓΛΠ (τοσουτω Λ). το|σουτου γαρ would more or less fill the lacuna. But the damaged letter before δέω is certainly not ρ. It looks like the remains of ω, or perhaps ν. τοσουτου γαρ δε]ω δέω might be considered (in dittography), or εγ]ω. But both are rather long for the space, and we would expect ἐγώ to stand at the beginning of the clause (cf. *Aegin.* 2; Dem. *Philipp.* III 17, *De Cor.* 18). Thus perhaps ε]νδεω (but Isocrates does not use the compound in this expression).

11 After δέω, what looks like a high point is probably an offset.

12 ην και restored with ΓΛΠ; κᾶν = καὶ ἐάν (P. Kell.; paralleled at *Ad Nic.* 54 and *Evag.* 27) might also fit in the space.

13 μει]ξω των [ομορων with ΓΛΠ: των ομοιως μειζω P. Kell. ομοιως is a mistake for ομορων. The post-position of μειζω is uncommon in Isocrates (the only occurrence is *De Big.* 47).

14 δυνα]μιν is short for the space by a letter or so, but την δυνα]μιν (an unattested variant) would be equally too long.

19–22 No text can be verified from the traces.

νοντας και τα]υτ' εν ετεροις μεν [ιως §46
 αν ωκνουν ειπ]ειν ουχ ως ου φιλοτιμ[ου
 μενος επι το]ις πεπραγμενοι[ε

↓ ταξε]ι διαμ[ενουσι δια τουτο (§47)
 δε πλειους [εποιησαμην τους
 λογους και π[ερι εμαυτου και
 των αλλων των π[ροειρημε
 5 νων ινα μηδεμ[ιαν προφα
 ςιν υπολειπω ως [ου δει ποι
 ειν υμας εκοντ[ας και προ
 θυ]μως ατ'τ αν [

→ 4], . [1–2] *ay.* Before *αν* we expect *πλειστους*, but this cannot be verified.

5 *πλειστα* restored with Γ: *μάλιστα* in P. Kell. ΛΠ, which suits the space equally well. In support of *πλειστα* Drerup notes the parallel expression in §51.

6–7 τα]υτ' εν ετεροις μεν [ιως | αν ωκνουν ειπ]ειν with ΓΛΠ: ταυτα μεν ετεροις ιως ωκνουν αν ειπειν P. Kell. (odd word order: see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 231).

8 *πεπραγμενοι[ε* with ΓΛΠ: *τοιουτοις* P. Kell.

↓ 2–3 *πλειους [εποιησαμην τους] | λογους* with ΓΛΠ: *πλειους τους λογους εποιησαμην* P. Kell. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 267–8, citing parallels, reject the second reading, arguing that in this passage the adjective ‘is the focus, contrasting with a *comparatum* later in the sentence, whereas the noun has the pragmatically unmarked position after the verb.’

3 και π[ερι εμαυτου και. After the second *καί* MSS have *περί* (P. Kell. omits the first *καί*). To judge from the space, the scribe did not write the second *περί*, or possibly wrote *έμοῦ* for *έμαυτοῦ*.

5–6 *προφα]]ειν υπολειπω: προφασιν παραλειπω* P. Kell.: *υπολείπω πρόφασιν* PSI 16 Λ: *υπολίπω πρόφασιν* Γ: *λίπω πρόφασιν* Π. There are three questions: (i) The word-order. Only 4725 and P. Kell. have the noun before the verb. This is to be considered inferior for two reasons. (i) It eliminates the effective and emphatic hyperbaton *μηδεμίαν . . . πρόφασιν*. (ii) In 4725 it introduces an unelidable hiatus (*υπολείπω ως ου δει ποιειν κτλ.*), whereas Isocrates tends to avoid this even (as here) at a pause (see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 273 ff.); P. Kell. avoids this by writing *παραλείπω του μη ποιειν*. (2) The verb: *υπολείπω* must be right (cf. the same expression in Dem., *In Timocr.* 52). *παραλείπω* of P. Kell. is less good for the meaning (‘pass over’); presumably the mistake is due to the fact that this compound occurs very frequently in Isocrates. The simple *λίπω* (Π) is also inferior: Seck, *Untersuchungen* 27, suggests that the copyist found in his exemplar *υπολειπω* with *λιπω* suprascript on the second part of the word, and mistakenly assumed that *λιπω* should replace the whole word. (3) The tense: *λιπ* and *λειπ* are phonetically equivalent by the Roman period; see on 4724 ↓7. The choice between variants therefore rests on the sense, and the aorist, expressing momentary action, seems to fit the context better (so Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 268).

6–7 *ως [ου δει ποι]]ειν* with PSI 16 ΓΛΠ: *του μη ποι]ειν* P. Kell. Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 268–9 make a strong case for considering the second reading as an authorial variant. On the one hand, the construction with the genitive of the substantive infinitive, although never found in Isocrates with the noun *πρόφασιν*, seems to be unobjec-

tionable; a parallel is to be found in Dem., *In Timocr.* 52 (mentioned in the previous note) βουλόμενος δὴ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ κακῶς ἔχειν ὑπολιπεῖν; and the same construction occurs five times in Isocrates with αἰτία (and αἴτιος), which is semantically similar to πρόφασις. On the other hand, a clause introduced by ὡς (οὖ) is not found with a noun elsewhere in Isocrates. Therefore the first reading is to be regarded as a *lectio difficilior*.

7 ὑμας with ΓΛΠ: ημας PSI 16: omitted in P. Kell.

εκουτ[ας restored with PSI 16 P. Kell. ΛΠΝ: ἐκόντως Γ. The latter may be explained as a slip due to the fact that there follows an adverb ending in -ως, or as a *lectio facilior* that produces a symmetric hendiadys of adverbs, ἐκόντως καὶ προθύμως.

7–8 προ[θυ]μως with ΓΛΠ: προθυμους P. Kell. The latter may be explained as a confusion between ω and ου (see Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 36). Or, as in the previous line (see note), it could be seen as a *lectio facilior* that produces a symmetric hendiadys (ἐκόντας καὶ προθύμους).

ατ'τ αν with ΓΛΠ: αντ αν PSI 16: απερ αν P. Kell. ἄπερ occurs 32 times in Isocrates, while ἄττα occurs only 3 times: in our passage, *Ad Nicocl.* 38 (ΓΛΝ θ: ἄ δ' ἄν Π: ἄπερ ἄν P. Kell. *Exc. Pat.*), and *Trapez.* 51 (ΓΛ⁴Π: ἄ τ' Λ^π). The form ἄττα is not frequently used by Attic orators (a TLG search yields 2 instances in Aeschines, 2 in Antiphon, 14 in Demosthenes, and 1 in Hypereides). In later times it was thought to be a peculiar Attic form; cf. the references in lexicographers (Harpocration, Hesychius, Photius, *Suda*), especially concerning Antiphon (fr. 27, 34–5). Thus ἄττ(α) in the papyrus may be regarded as a *lectio difficilior*; accordingly, the reading in P. Kell., as well as the variants in the two other passages, may be considered a simplification (Worp–Rijksbaron, *KIC* 203). The reading in PSI 16 seems to be a mere spelling mistake, perhaps due to a similar misunderstanding of ἄττα.

D. COLOMO

4726–4737. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE*

The following ten items more than treble the total of published papyri of Isocrates' speech *De Pace*, already well-represented on papyrus: P. Lond. Lit. 131 (= Mertens–Pack³ 1272), of the first century AD, covers much of the speech from §13 to the end, including the repeated final title. Four other papyri preserve passages from *De Pace*: PSI XI 1199 (§1; M–P³ 1271); VIII 1096 (§§1–3; M–P³ 1268); P. Heid. I 208 (§§43–4, 56–61; M–P³ 1273); P. Oxy. Hels. 7 (§§46–7; M–P³ 1273.1).

For collation we have based ourselves on the new Teubner edition of B. G. Mandilaras (Stuttgart/Leipzig 2003), which we were able to consult at the last moment. Mandilaras, in *The Speech 'On the Peace' of Isocrates from the British Museum Papyrus* (Athens 1975), a full edition of P. Lond. Lit. 131 with plates, had already provided a collation from microfilm of the main medieval MSS for the part of the speech extant in that papyrus. For passages quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus the Teubner text draws on the edition of Usener and Radermacher (1899); we have instead relied on the Budé edition of G. Aujac, *Denys d'Halicarnasse* i–ii (Paris 1978, 1988), and referred to the MSS of Dionysius by her sigla.

For the bipartite tradition of Isocrates see above, pp. 114–15. The Teubner normally cites the readings of Γ and Ε on the one side, ΛΠΖ on the other; 'codd.' apparently refers to these main MSS. The papyri generally have confirmed the view that the division between the two branches is relatively late, since they offer various mixtures of variants from both. They tend to support the readings of the Urbinas (Γ) group in general, though it would be risky to assume that those papyri which show no variants exclusive to the second

family are actually representative of the Urbinas version. The conclusion seems to be that these papyri reflect different ancient *ἐκδόσεις*, which presented variants that can be found both in the Urbinas and in the other. The papyri published here support this view: they provide no evidence that this division goes back to ancient times, and, in fact, they behave very much like P. Lond. Lit. 131, which offers readings from both families. Only rarely do they differ from it in the choice of the different variants as regards the two groups. The new texts do differ from P. Lond. Lit. 131 when the latter presents singular readings, just as they stand with the whole tradition against readings in solitary codices. The superscript and the marginal notes especially seem to indicate that some sort of collation may have been possible at least at the time when the texts were copied, if not before (cf. **4730** and **4737**).

Alongside the medieval MSS, we have the indirect transmission. Two sections of the speech (25–56, 132–45) are quoted by Isocrates himself in *De Antidosi* 66: see most recently P. M. Pinto, *Per la storia del testo di Isocrate* (Bari 2003), and S. de Leo in *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate* 201 ff. (on the citation of *De Pace* in particular). Γ reduces the citations to their opening and closing words; a few MSS, notably (Δ) E Λ Θ, give the text complete (these are cited in lower case, ε λ θ, in the collation). Some passages are quoted also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1–16, 41–2, 50–2 in *Isocrates* 16–17; 41–50 in *Demosthenes* 17 and again (partially) 19. **4726–9** do not seem to support the peculiarities of the text preserved by Dionysius. Similarly, **4737** tends not to agree with *De Antidosi* when its manuscripts stand on their own against those of the direct transmission of *De Pace* (but see on i 21–2). The case of **4736** is different; it shows three instances where it coincides with the readings of θ λ against all MSS. However, in one of these cases, the second corrector of P. Lond. Lit. 131 has modified the text into the same reading as in *De Antidosi*, suggesting that there may have been some sort of collation with the rest of the tradition. (Against the possibility that **4736** is a papyrus of *De Antidosi* rather than *De Pace*, see the introduction and notes.)

The new texts present unique readings only in six cases; in **4727** there are two new readings, one plainly wrong, and the other inferior to that received; in **4729** we have an omission (in error); in **4732** a correction may imply a variant word-order; in **4735** we may have a variant deleted by the scribe, and in **4737** we find a new reading (probably a banalization) included in the text.

4726. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 7–9

102/35(d)

fr. 1, 3 × 4.7 cm; fr. 2, 7 × 9.8 cm

Early third century

Two fragments from a roll, written along the fibres; the back is blank. Three lines of text are missing in between. There is insufficient connection of the fibres on the verso to decide whether the fragments came in the same or successive columns. If they belong to a single column, it had at least 28 lines (c.17 cm). No margins are visible except on fr. 1, where line-ends are preserved and followed by 1.5 cm blank papyrus.

The hand is an example of the Severe or Formal Mixed style, slanting slightly to

ΜΕΝΟΥΣ· Ο ΤΙ ΑΝ ΤΥΧΗ ΔΕ Γ[ΕΝΗ]ΣΟ
 ΜΕΥΟΝ. ΟΥΤΩ ΔΙΑΝΟΞ[Ι]ΘΑΙ ΠΕ
 ΡΙ] ΑΥΤΩΝ· ΩΝ ΎΜΕΙΣ ΟΥ[ΔΕΤΕΡΟΝ §9
 20 ΤΥ]ΓΧΑΝΕΤΕ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ Α[ΛΛΩ]Σ
 ΟΙΟ]Ν ΤΕ ΤΑΡΑΧΩΔΕΣΤΑΤ[Α ΔΙΑ
 ΚΕΙ]ΣΘΕ ΣΥΝΕΛΗΛΥΘΑΤΕ ΜΕ[Ν ΓΑΡ
 Ω]Σ ΔΕΟΝ ΎΜΑΣ ΕΞ ΑΠΑ[ΝΤΩΝ
 Τ]ΩΝ ΡΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΕΞ[Α]ΘΑΙ
 25 ΤΟ] ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΟΝ· ΩΣΠΕΡ Δ[·]
 ΕΙ]ΔΟΤΕΣ Ο Π[Ρ]ΑΚΤΕΟΝ Ε[ΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΚ
 ΕΘΕ]ΛΕΤ[·] ΑΚΟΥ]ΕΙΝ ΠΛ[ΗΝ ΤΩΝ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΗΔΟΝΗΝ] Δ[ΗΜΗΓΟΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ

6–7 αλ|[λα των restored *exempli gratia* after Γ Ε Dion.: ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν Λ.

8 κ]αι: curious low trace to right in paler ink.

9 επικρατήσομεν τω]ν restored after Γ Ε Dion. (κρατήσομεν Dion., too short for the space here): τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσομεν Λ. των ἐχθρων επικρατ]η might be an alternative restoration here.

15–16 το ζ[υμβησ]όμενον with codd. Dion. Z: τὰ συμβησόμενα Dion. F.

16 ἀλλ' ὡς. The apostrophe may have been used to save the reader from confusion with the adverb ἄλλως.

δοξη μ[εν]. After δοξη the trace would allow δοξηι, but the scribe does not write iota adscript in 17 τυχη. δοξη μ[εν] is further favoured by the space after η.

17 ο τι αν τυχη δε with codd.: ὅ τι δ' ἂν τύχη Dion.

21 -τατα with codd. Dion. Z: -τατον Dion. F.

22 με]ν with codd.: om. Dion.

24 εκλεξ[α]σθαι restored after codd., since it seems to suit the space better than Dionysius' ἐκλέξαι.

25 βελτιστον codd.: βέλτιον Dion. After ν, what looks like two high stops but smaller and rounder than usual, and in a narrower space.

δ[·]. δ' ἤδη σαφῶς is transmitted by codd. and Dion. (δ' om. F). The trace after δ would allow δε [ηδη (*scriptio plena*) or δ η[δη] (elision unmarked, but the elision is marked at 16 ἀλλ'—yet the trace does not seem to admit an elision mark).

27 εθε]λετ[·] οτ εθε]λετ[·]; cf. 16. οὐ θέλετε ἀκούειν Dion., not necessarily excluded by the space.

A. NODAR

4727. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 15–20

112/136

12 × 18 cm

Third century

A part of a roll, blank on the back, with remains of three columns; upper margin extant to 3.4 cm, intercolumnium c.1.5 cm. There must have been c.40 lines to the column, which gives a written height of c.12.5 cm; the written width measures 5.5 cm at its greatest extent.

The script is a confident 'Severe Style', upright and well-spaced, assignable to the third

century. There is some shading, with little tilt to the pen. Descenders display a slight leftward curve at the foot; the bowl of μ is at two-thirds height; γ is formed in two movements, the stem often a near-upright. Somewhat comparable is XVIII 2098 = Roberts, *GLH* 19b, of the early third century.

A correction at i 14 is by the original scribe. Iota adscript has been used at ii 21. Elisions are made tacitly in all but one case (i 2), but there it is uncertain whether the apostrophe was meant as an elision mark: besides i 2, apostrophes are found at the ends of i 5, 12, and ii 20; even if those at i 5 and 12 might be explained as separators, the purpose of the one at ii 20 ($\pi\omicron'\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) is less clear. Perhaps these apostrophes function as line-fillers, a practice for which, however, I can find no parallel.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131, and covers a section quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Isocr.* 16). It offers two new readings: one plainly wrong (ii 14–15), the other apparently inferior to that received (ii 2). Of some significance for the history of the text are also the agreement of 4727 with some manuscripts of Dionysius at i 2 (in error), and its near-agreement with P. Lond. Lit. 131 at iii 23–24 against the rest of the tradition, but also its disagreement with P. Lond. Lit. 131 at i 19–20.

col. i

	$\upsilon\mu\iota\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\]\delta\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\]\omicron\]\nu\iota$	(§15)
	$\alpha\nu\ \mu\eta\eta\]\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\prime$	
	$\alpha\pi\omicron\phi\alpha\]\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$	
	$\alpha\ \tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\]\gamma\omega\ \gamma\iota\nu\omega\varsigma\kappa\omega\nu$	
5	$\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\]\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\prime$	
	$\omega\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\rho\]\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron$	
	$\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\]\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon$	
	$\rho\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\]\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\ \tau\omega\nu$	
	$\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\]\omega\varsigma\ \pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$	
10	$\tau\omega\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\]\nu\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \omicron\phi\epsilon$	
	$\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\]\ \tau\omega\nu\ \nu\upsilon\nu$	
	$\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\]\ \epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu\eta\varsigma\prime$	
	$\gamma\iota\nu\omega\varsigma\theta\epsilon\nu\]\tau\omega\nu\ \eta\nu\ \mu\eta$	
	$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\]\ \tau\omega\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\nu$	
15	$\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\]\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omega\mu\]\epsilon$	
	$\theta\alpha\ \phi\eta\mu\iota\]\ \delta\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\eta$	§16
	$\nu\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma\]\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\iota$	
	$\rho\eta\nu\eta\nu\ \mu\]\eta\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$	
	$\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\]\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \rho\omicron\delta\iota$	
20	$\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\upsilon\zeta\]\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\]\varsigma$	

αλλα και π]ρος απαν
 τας ανθρω]πους κ[αι
 χρησθαι ται]ς [συνθη]καις

col. ii

την πολιν ελαττουν (§17)
 ειτ εκεινοι μεν εξου
 ρι Θεσπιας κα[ι] Πλα
 ταιας και τας αλλας
 5 πολεις ας παρα τους
 ορκους κατειληφα
 ριν ημεις δ εξιμεν
 μηδεμια[ς] αναγκης
 ουσης εξ ω[ν τ]υχχα
 10 νομεν εχοντες ην
 δε δια τελους ακου
 ρητε μου προσεχον
 τες τον νουν οιμαι
 παντας υμας ακου
 15 ρεσθαι πολλην ανοι
 αν [κ]αι μαριαν των
 την α]δικιαν πλε[ο
 νε]ξιαν ε[ι]να[ι νο
 μ[ι]ζοντων κα[ι τ]ων
 20 τας αλλοτριας πο'
 λεις βιαι κατεχον
 τ]ων και μη λογιζ[ο
 με]νων τας συμφο
 ρας] τας εκ των τοιου
 25 τ]ων εργαων γιγνομε
 νας ταυτα μεν ουν
 δια παντος τ[ο]υ λογ[ου
 πειρασομ[

§18

col. iii

κ[εσειεν ημιν ει την (§19)

τε [πολιν ασφαλω

οικ[οιμεν και τα πε

ρι τ[ον βιον ευπορω

5 τε[ροι γιγνοιμεθα και

τα [τε προς ημας αυ

τ[ους ομονοοιμεν

κ[αι παρα τοις

(13 lines missing)

λην[ακ διαβεβλη

κεν [και κατα παν

τας τ[ροπους τεταλαι

25 πωρη[κεν ημας ην §20

δε τη[ν ειρηνην ποι

ης]ω[μεθα και τοι|ουτους

.

col. i

2 μνη]στευων with Dion. TB: μνηστεύων P. Lond. Lit. codd. Dion. FAV. With αποφα]νουμενος following, we need the future participle (the received text runs παρελήλυθα γὰρ οὐ χαριούμενος ὑμῖν οὐδὲ χειροτονίαν μνηστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀποφανόμενος κτλ.). The papyrus presents a conflation of the two constructions.

3 αποφα]νουμενος with P. Lond. Lit. codd. Dion. FAV: ἀποφαινόμενος Dion. TB. Cf. the previous note.

4 γινωσκων with P. Lond. Lit. Ξ: γινώσκων codd. On the spelling of γι(γ)νώσκω in papyri of Isocrates, see 4717 p. 12 17 n.

6-7 οι πρ]υτανεις προ|[τιθεασιν with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: ὁ πρύτανις προτίθησιν Dion. FZ (προστίθ- T).

7 ε]πειτα: και add. AΠZ.

8 των om. Dion. FZ.

11-12 των νυν [περι with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: τῶν ὑπὲρ Dion. FZ.

13-14 ην μη [και with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: ἦν και μη Δ: ἄν μη Dion.

14-15 των λοιπων [ορθως (λοιπων corrected from λογων) with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: τῶν ὀρθῶς λοιπῶν Dion.F: τούτων ὀρθῶς λοιπόν Dion. Z. λόγων is not known as a variant from elsewhere, and may well be due to mis-copying.

19 Χιους] και: Χίους τε και Dion.

19-20 Ροδι[ους και Βυζ]αντιου[ς with codd.: Ῥοδίους και Βυζαντίους και Κώους 'vulg.' Dion.: [Βυ]ζαντ[ιους] και Ρο[δίου]ς και Κν[η]ιδίους P. Lond. Lit. On the passage see Mandilaras, *The Speech 'On the Peace' of Isocrates* 183-4, 247; Pinto, *Per la storia del testo di Isocrate* 133 f.

21 αλλα και with P. Lond. Lit. AΠZ: ἀλλὰ ΓΕ Dion. (too short for the space here).

21-2 π]ρος απαν[τας with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: πάντας Dion. FZ.

22-3 κ[αι χρησθαι restored with codd.: κερρήσθαι Dion. FZ.

col. ii

2 *ειτ εκεινοι: ει Θηβαῖοι* codd. (*Θ[ηβαιοι]* P. Lond. Lit.). The reading of the papyrus is hard to defend; there is no reference to Thebans in the earlier part of the speech.

6–7 *κατειληφαι* with ΛΕ: *ειλήφαι* Γ, possibly also P. Lond. Lit. (spacing).

14 *παντας* with codd.: *πάντας* ἄν Λ.

14–15 *ακουσεθαι: καταγνώσεσθαι* codd. Apparently an influence from *ακουσητε* above.

21–2 *βιαι κατεχον[τ]ων* with ΓΕ: *κατεχόντων βία* Λ.

col. iii

3–4 *τα πε]ρι* with ΓΕ: *τὰ πρὸς* ΛΠΖ.

22–3 *διαβεβλη]κεν* with P. Lond. Lit. Γ: *-κε* ΛΕ.

23–4 *κατα παν]τας τ[ροπους* restored by reason of space; [*κα]τα παντὰ' τους τ[ροπους]* P. Lond. Lit.: *πάντας τρόπους* ΓΕ: *πάντα τρόπον* ΛΠΖ Lex. Seg. The virtual agreement of the two papyri against the medieval tradition is interesting (note that 4727 has not enough room in the lacuna for *τ[ους τροπους]*). In fifth- and fourth-century authors, constructions without *κατά* are more common than those with it, but this need not be conclusive for what Isocrates wrote.

N. GONIS

4728. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 41(?)–7

16 2B.52/B (a)

14 × 14.6 cm

Second century

A fragment containing the remains of three columns from a papyrus roll with full width of intercolumnia and the top margin preserved to 4 cm. Of col. i there remain only a few letters at the ends of lines, level with lines 3 to 8 in cols. ii–iii, of which we have the complete width (4.5 cm) preserved in places. Of the fourth column there is only a trace level with line 1. The intercolumnium is *c.*1.5 cm. The columns originally contained *c.*37 lines, so that the column height may be reconstructed at *c.*22 cm. Line length ranges from 15 to 17 letters. The back is blank.

The hand is an example of the Informal Round, inclining to slightly smaller than medium size. It is roughly bilinear, with *ο* and *Ϸ* much the same size as the other letters. The hand is written moderately fast: there is much connection of letters, e.g. iii 4 *υτο* and 8 *τω*. The main characteristic is rounding: *μ* is sometimes written in one stroke and has curved legs. *γ* is usually written in two strokes: a semicircle on top and a leg. *α* is usually written in two strokes, a loop and a diagonal, sometimes in one. No decoration, apart from shading. A parallel is X 1231 = *GMAW*² 17, assigned to the second century, but it shows more shading. XXVI 2442 = *GMAW*² 22, assigned to the second century, also compares well and shows the shading, but 4728 is written less formally and lacks the decorative finials.

There is no opportunity to observe whether the scribe wrote iota adscript. He tacitly elides the final vowels of short words (prepositions and particles) with consistency (but contrast ii 3 *πα[τ]ριδα αυτων*). Punctuation by *paragraphi* (after iii 5 and 19 coinciding with the ends of paragraphs 46 and 47). There are no other lectional signs in evidence.

§43–7 is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus no less than three times, each with a slightly different text, and each version slightly different from that transmitted by the

medieval MSS of Isocrates: once in his treatise on *Isocrates* (17), with a gap between *οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς* (§43 = ii 1 in the papyrus) and *φροντίζομεν* in §50, where a folium presumably has fallen out of the archetype; secondly in his treatise on *Demosthenes* (17), of which excerpts are quoted later (19). The quotations show clearly that the papyrus is a text of Isocrates, with whose MSS it consistently agrees, rather than of Dionysius.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Heid. I 208 ii, P. Oxy. Hels. 7 and **4729** in col. ii, and with P. Lond. Lit. 131 throughout.

Col. i

]]>]ου]·]·]ε

5

Col. ii

οἱ [μεν υπε]ρ της τω[ν (§43)
 αλλων σωτηριας>
 την τε πα[τ]ριδα αυτω
 εκλιπειν ετολμη>
 5 καν και μαχομενοι
 κ]αι ναυμ[α]χουν[τ]εσ
 τους β[αρβαρους ε]νι
 κησαν [ημεις δ ου
 δ υπερ [τ]ης ημε[τερας
 10 αυτων πλεονεξιας
 κινδυ]νευειν αξι[ου
 scattered traces from 5 lines §44

 (c.20 lines missing)

Col. iii

ουχ οπως αγανα[κτ]ου (§45)
 μεν αλλα και χ[α]ιρο

Col. iv

τ[

μεν οταν ακου[ς]ωμεν
 αυτους τοιουτον τι δ[ι]
 5 απεπραγμενους εις §46
 τουτο δε μω[ρ]ιας ελη
 λυθαμεν ωστ αυτοι
 μεν ενδεεις των κα
 θ ημεραν εσμεν ξε
 10 νο[τρο]φειν δ [ε]πικε
 χε[ιρηκ]αμεν [και τους
 ε[υμμαχο]υς [τους ημε
 τερο[υς
 . [
 15 [
 [
 . [
 χ[θροις τον μισθον
 εκπ[οριζωμεν το
 20 σουτ[ω δε χειρους ες
 μεν [των προγονων
 ου μ[ονον

Col. i

These lines ought to be about 36–8 lines (540–620 letters) before line 1 of col. ii οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ κτλ., i.e. the second part of §41.

4 ρ. Upper right quadrant of a circle: ο or θ or ρ.

Col. ii

2 αλλων with ΓΕ λεθ: *Ελληνων* P. Lond. Lit. **4729** ΛΠΖ. *Dion. Dem.* 17 and 19. P. Lond. Lit. and **4729** might be thought to give precedence to *Ἑλλήνων* (it had been accepted by Bekker, among others), but **4728** shows *ἄλλων* to be an equally ancient reading. Note that the phrase *ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις* occurs already in §42, and that here in either case the meaning must be *τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων*, i.e. the contrast demanded is not between all Greeks and the barbarians as in §42, but between οἱ μὲν, the Athenians of old themselves, and (the rest of) the Greeks.

εωττηριας with P. Lond. Lit. ([εωττηρια]ς, restored on grounds of space) codd. *Dion. Dem.* 17: *ἐλευθερίας* *Dion. Dem.* 19.

3 την τε πα[τ]ριδα with **4729** codd. *Dion. Dem.* 17 and 19: *την πατριδα* P. Lond. Lit.

αυτω(ν): *τήν αυτών* codd. (*αὐτών*), 'vulg.' (*αὐτών*): *την εαυτων* P. Lond. Lit. *Dion. Dem.* 17 and 19: *την* probably present also in **4729**, to judge from the space.

4–5 *εκλιπει ετολμη* can with codd. *Dion. Dem.* 17 and 19. (restored in **4729** on grounds of space): *ετολ[μησαν]* *ε[κλ]ιπειν* P. Lond. Lit.

8-9 δ ουδ restored with ΓΕ: δὲ οὐδ' ΑΠΖ.

10 αυτων with codd.: om. P. Heid. (ut vid.) θ Dion. *Dem.* 17.

Col. iii

1 αγανα: These letters appear to have very thin horizontal strokes running through them, as though cancelled, but there is no reason to delete the letters. It is therefore likely that the ink has run along a fibre.

1-2 αγανα[κτ]ου|μεν with ΓΑΠΖ Dion. *Dem.* 17: -τωμεν Γ²Ε ελ.

4 τοιουτον with ΓΕ εθ Dion.: -το ΑΠΖ.

4-5 δ[ι]απεπραγμενους with ΓΕ λε Dion. *Dem.* 17: διαπραττομενους ΑΠΖ.

6 μω[ρ]ιας with codd. Dion. *Dem.* 17: τιμωριας Τ (τι del. Τ²).

8-9 των κα|θ ημεραν εςμεν: [P. Lond. Lit.] ΓΕ λθ: εςμεν των καθ' ημεραν ΑΠΖ Dion. *Dem.* 19. For the syllabic division in κα|θ see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* 10 ff.

10 δ [ε]πικε with ΓΕ ε: δὲ ἐπικε- ΑΠΖ Dion. *Antid.* (not relevant for MSS derivation).

19-20 το|κουτ[ω restored with P. Lond. Lit. ([τοκου]τω) P. Oxy. Hels. codd. Dion. *Dem.* 17 (and 19 cod. I): τοκουτο ΠΖ: τοκουτον Dion. *Dem.* 19 codd. AVJ.

20 δε χειρους restored with codd. Dion. *Dem.* 19: δε και χειρους Dion. *Dem.* 17. Neither **4728** nor P. Lond. Lit. (damaged at this point) will have had room for καί.

Col. iv

1 τ[: Trace of a high horizontal, with no trace visible of the following line-beginnings on the edge of the papyrus below: thus probably the left end of the cross-bar of τ.

C. LUZ

4729. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 42-4

72/21(f)

3.2 × 14.5 cm

Third century

A fragment of a roll with (I suppose) line-beginnings, and an upper margin of 0.6 cm. There were 16-19 letters to the line, which yields an estimated column width of c.7 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is a mature example of the Severe Style, smallish, gently slanting to the right, and generally bilinear (only ρ and γ plunge slightly below). There is some ornamentation, chiefly in the form of left-facing hooks at the tops of uprights. Letter forms of note: α with curved tail; fairly broad ε, θ, c; γ with shallow bowl; flat-bottomed ω. No lectional signs other than a *paragraphus*; there is no opportunity to observe the treatment of elision and the presence of iota adscript. A correction in 10 was made *currente calamo*.

The portion of the text transmitted by the papyrus is also extant in P. Heid. I 208 (part), P. Lond. Lit. 131, and **4728** (part). It is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 17), and is part of the long passage that reappears at *Antid.* 66. The papyrus does not share the eccentricities in P. Lond. Lit. 131 and Dionysius. There are no new readings except for an omission (25-6).

]λην[ας ηγαγομεν κακει

]νοι [μεν ελευθερουντες

]τας προ[λεις τας Ἑλληνι
]δας κα[ι βοηθουντες αυ
 5]ταις τ[ης ηγεμονιας ηξι
]ωθης[αν ημεις δε κατα
]δουλου[μενοι και ταναυ
]τια τοι[ς τοτε πραττον
]τες αγα[νακτουμεν ει
 10]μη [[ν]]την [αυτην τιμην
]εκεινο[ις εξομεν οι τοσου §43
]τον απ[ολελειμμεθα και
]τοις ε[ργοις και ταις διανοι
]αις τ[ων κατ εκεινον τον
 15]χρον[ον γενομενων οσον
]οι μεν [υπερ της των Ἑλ
]λην[ων σωτηριας την
]τε πα[τριδα την αυτων
]εκλιπε[ιν ετολμησαν
 20]και μαχ[ομενοι και ναυ
]μαχουν[τες τους βαρβαρους
]ενηκ[η]ς[αν ημεις δ ουδ
]υπερ τη[ς ημετερας αυ
]των πλε[ονεξιας κινδυ
 25]νευειν α[ξιουμεν αλλ αρ §44
]χειν απαυ[των ζητουμεν
]τρατευ[εσθαι δ ουκ εθε
]λο]μεν κ[αι

5 αυ]ταις with codd. Dion. AVD: -τὰς Dion. IJ. τ[ης: om. θ.

7 και ταναυ]τια restored with codd. Dion.: τ[α δε εν]αντια P. Lond. Lit.

8–9 πραττον]τες with P. Lond. Lit. codd. Dion.: πραττομένοις ποιούντες λξ.

9 A low trace before τες which I cannot explain (not part of N).

10–11 τιμην] εκεινο[ις with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ λεθ Dion.: ἐκείνοις τιμὴν ΑΠΖ.

16–17 Ἑλ]λην[ων with P. Lond. Lit. ΑΠΖ Dion.: αλλων 4728 ΓΕ λεθ.

17–18 την] τε πα[τριδα with 4728 codd. Dion.: την πατριδα P. Lond. Lit. Mandilaras, *The Speech 'On the Peace'* 236, argues that τε is not necessary.

Considerations of space seem to favour restoring την after πα[τριδα, but this is not entirely certain, given the variants transmitted for this part of the text; see 4728 ii 3 n.

18 αυτων restored *exempli gratia* (spacing is inconclusive) with codd.: εαυτων P. Lond. Lit. Dion.

19 εκλιπε[ιν ετολμησαν] restored with **4728** codd. Dion.: ετολ[μησαν] εκ[κλ]ιπειν P. Lond. Lit. On the passage see Mandilaras, *The Speech 'On the Peace'* 189.

23-4 αυ]των with **4728** codd. [P. Lond. Lit.]: om. P. Heid. (ut vid.) θ Dion.

25 Before the first η, a high horizontal trace (not part of γ).

25-6 αρ]χειν: αρχειν μεν [P. Lond. Lit.] codd. Dion.

27 κ]ρατευ[εσθαι with P. Lond. Lit. codd.: κρατεύειν Dion.

N. GONIS

4730. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 65-6

6 1B.8/B(c)

5.5 × 9.3 cm

Second century

A fragment with remains of fourteen lines from one column, broken off at the foot, written along the fibres; the back is blank. The upper margin is preserved to 2 cm; there are a few mm of the left margin, but no right margin is preserved.

The hand is a medium to small Informal Round one. It is markedly bilinear, and letters are uniform in width. α is written in two movements, with an oval form for its left-hand elements. Obliques, except those of Δ (the right-hand one extending above the apex) and η, tend to adopt curved forms. An impression of flattened handwriting is conveyed by 'square' letters that are broader than they are tall. Uprights may present a tick to the left; this tick can also be observed at the foot of the upright of τ, although it is not always present, and φ. The execution is careful and consistent, but the space between letters is not very large, which frequently causes strokes from different letters to come into contact. There are a few linked strokes (cross-bar of ε, with closed upper semicircle, and that of θ). Some letters present variations in shape; e.g. γ with and without looped lower elements, more or less closed oval left-hand elements of α, etc. A date in the second century is likely. For comparable scripts see XXVI **2441** (*GMAW*² 22) and XVIII **2161** (*GMAW*² 24), both assigned to the second century, near formal examples of the style.

The text shows no accents or breathings. Punctuation is by high points, written above the line (4; 9, apparently by a different hand). There is no chance to observe whether iota adscript was written. Elision is effected and marked (4; see also on 11), but not by the same hand to which the main text is due. Corrections (5) are made by crossing out the letters thought to be wrong and superscribing those considered to be right (see however on 4-5). The superscripts are identified as by a second hand from the style of writing and angle of the pen.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131.

ρ]ωμενης [και περιμαχητου (§65)
 γ]ε[γ]ενημενης [κατηγορου
 τα δοκειν αγεκτ[ον τι λε
 γειν· ομως δ' επει[δηπερ υ

5 πεμειν[[ε]]'άτρε τους [αλλουc
 λογουc αληθειc [μεν ον
 ταc φιλαπεχθημογ[αc δε
 και τουτων υμαc ανεχεcθα[ι
 δ]εομαι· και μη καταγων[αι §66
 10 μου το[[ι]]'άυτην μανιαν ω[c
 α]ρ εγω προειλομηγ [αν δια
 λε]χθηναι προς υμαc [περι
 πρ]αγματων ου[τω παραδο
 ξων ει μη τ]ι λεγε[ιω

4 δ' επει[δη with the second corrector of P. Lond. Lit. (επειδη original hand) and ΓΕ: δὲ ἐπειδή ΛΠΖ. Normally concurrence of the medieval MSS with regard to such elision in prose would be taken as trivial, but the tradition seems significantly divided at this point, with the new text agreeing with another ancient manuscript. Here the elision mark has been placed by a second hand (thus from collation with another manuscript?).

4–5 υπεμειν[[ε]]'άτρε: ὑπεμείνατε καὶ P. Lond. Lit. (υπεμειν[ατε]) codd. The hand responsible for the apostrophe after δ in 4 has superscribed α between ν and the following letter with the same thick pen; after τ an apparent ε with what looks like an elision mark above it. There is no sign of καί being added.

8 τουτων with P. Lond. Lit. ΛΠΖ: τοῦτον ΓΕ.

υμαc ανεχεcθα[ι with ΛΠΖ: ὑμῶν ἀνασχέcθαι ΓΕ. (υμ[αc ανεχεc]θαι has been restored in P. Lond. Lit.)

9 The high stop in line 4 is the only mark of punctuation certainly written by the same hand as the main text. This one is placed slightly higher in the interlinear space and has a more oval shape than the one in 4, and the ink seems weaker. But in itself this is not sufficient to assign it to the second hand.

10 τοιαυτην corrected to τοσαυτην: τοιαύτην P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ² (-τη Ε): τοσαύτην ΛΠΖ. We appear to have an early example of contamination or at least collation: the scribe copied τοι-, and the second hand noted the variant τοc-.

11 α]ρ εγω: the elision in P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ: ἄρα ἐγώ ΛΠΖ. The scribe certainly effected elision in 4.

αν restored after ΓΕ: om. P. Lond. Lit. (according to Mandilaras's estimate of the lacuna) ΛΠΖ. Here αν may be legitimately restored, since without it the line would have only 18 letters, shorter than usual.

A. NODAR

4731. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 66–9, 73

8 1B.199/E(1)a+c

fr. I 5 × 20 cm

First half of third century

Three fragments, the first with remains of two consecutive columns, and the second and third from the next column but one, from a roll written along the fibres. The back is blank. (Frr. 2 + 3 have a repair strip on the back, with scanty documentary cursive remains on its inner face.) The intercolumnium is 1.5 cm; the lower margin is extant to c.3 cm. The lines have 13–14 letters on average, so that the width of the column may be calculated as c.7 cm. Taking the average of 14 letters per line, the gap between the last preserved line of fr. 1 col. i and the first preserved line of col. ii is around 20 lines, of which 16 belonged to

col. i and 4 to col. ii. Thus col. ii contained *c.*32 lines, with a height of *c.*20 cm; if the upper margin was not much smaller than the lower, 26 cm will have been the approximate height of the roll. About 50 lines are missing between the foot of col. ii on fr. 1 and the top of fr. 2. Thus one column (of *c.*32 lines) is lost between fr. 1 and fr. 2, and fr. 2 begins *c.*17 lines down the column following the one lost.

No accents or breathings are in evidence. Punctuation by *paragraphoi* and high stops. Inorganic and organic diaereses are written. Elision is effected but not marked. There is no opportunity to observe iota adscript. The scribe uses filler-signs and adjusts the spacing and letter sizes at line-ends to produce as even a right-hand margin as possible.

The writing is a medium sized Formal mixed or Severe Style, slightly slanting to the right. Shading is conspicuous. There is some decoration: uprights may present hooks at their upper ends. The same kind of ornament, to the right, can be seen at the lower end of obliques descending to the right, especially those of λ , Δ , and sometimes κ , which does not reach the lower end of the second vertical. The lines and the letters are regularly and generously spaced, and there are no linking strokes. It is close to XXVII 2452 (*GMAW*² 27), assigned to the third century (see *GMAW*² p. 149 n. 48), and shows even greater resemblance to XVII 2098 (*GLH* 19b), dated to the first half of the third century. By comparison, a date in the first half of the third century seems likely.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131.

Fr. 1

Col. i

(five lines missing)

ειχον περι αυτ]ων
 νυν δ οιμαι φα]νε
 ρον ποιησειν απ]α
 5 ειν ως ουτε δικ]αι
 αc αρχης επιθυ]μου
 μεν ουτε γενε]χθαι
 δυνατης ουτε ε]υμ
 φερουσης ημιν] ο
 10 τι μεν ουν ου δικ]αι
 αc παρ υμων μα] >
 θων υμαc εχω διδ]α

§67

.

Col. ii

(four lines missing)

δ[αξουcαc αυτον

§68

ω[ς ου]τ[ε] δι[καιον
 ες[τι]ν ουτ[ε] συμ
 φ[ερο]ν μιαν [πολι
 5 κ[υρι]αν ει[αι] των
 Ελ[λ]ηνων [ου προ
 τ[ε]ρο]ν δε π[ολεμου]ν
 τ[ε]ς[ς] επαυσα[μεθα
 κα[ι] κινδ[υνευ
 10 ον[τ]ες και [κατα
 γην και κα[τα] θα
 λατταν πρ[ιν] ηθε
 λησαν Λα[κεδαιμο
 νιοι] ποιη[σασθαι
 15 τας συνθ]η[κας τας
 π[ε]ρι της αυτονο
 μ[ιας] οτι μεν ουν
 ο[υ] δικαι[ον] εστιν
 τ]ους κρ[ειττους
 20 τ]ων ητ[τωνων] αρ
 χ]ειν· εν ε[κεινοις]
 τ]ε τοις χ[ρονοις] τυγ
 χα]νομεν [εγνω
 κοτ]ες και [νυν επι
 25 της π]ολιτ[ειας] της
 παρ υμιν [καθεστη
 κυιας] ως δ[ε] [ουδ αν
 δυνηθειημ[εν] την

§69

[Col. iii lost]

Frr. 2+3

Col.iv

τας συμφορας] τας>
 απ αυτων]ν γιγνη[ο
 μενας ο]υτος γαρ αν

§73

ταχιστα] ποιησει
 5 εν υμας] μεισησαν
 τας α δει] β[ελτι
 ονων επι]θυμη[ησαι
 πραγ]μα[τ]ων [υ]πε[ρ
 μεν] ουν τη[ς] των
 10 λογω]ν τραχυτητος
 και τ]ων [ε]ρημωνων
 και τω]ν ρηθησεσθαι
 μελλ]οντ[ω]ν ταυτ ε
 χω λεγειω] προς ü>
 15 μας οθεν] δ απελι
 πον παλ]ιν ποιηι

Col. i

2-5 φα]νε|[ρον ποιησειν απ]α|[ειν with ΛΠΖ: πα̂σι (πα̂σιν Γ) φανερόν ποιήσειν P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ.

10-11 δικ]αι|[αc with codd.: δικαία P. Lond. Lit. We have restored -ac: the reading of P. Lond. Lit. is unique, and -ac is also supported by spacing; even if the presence of a space-filler shows that it was a short line, and even allowing that there might have been a punctuation-space after δικαίας, restoring -a will leave the line too short.

12 διδ]α. The space suggests that we should interpret the trace as α, i.e. διδ]α|[κειν. We might expect the division c|κ, but grammarians and scribes were not unanimous in their treatment of sigma+stop: see Turner, *GMAW*² p. 17 n. 96 citing Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* 31 f., W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaneensis* 10 ff., E. Mayser, *Grammatik* i 270 ff.; also R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers and Students* (1996) index s.v. 'syllable'; for Attic inscriptions, see L. Threatte, *Grammar* i 67-8.

Col. ii

1 Running on δι]δ[αξουσαc suits the space better than δ[ιδαξουσαc. διδαξ- ΓΕΠ: διδακκ- ΛΖ: διδα[ξ]- P. Lond. Lit. (on grounds of space) according to Mandilaras. Either form could have stood in our papyrus.

3-4 κυμ]φ[ερο]ν with P. Lond. Lit. ΛΠΖ: κυμφέρει ΓΕ. The trace (upper part of upright) might represent ι or the second upright of ν; but a reading]ι does not seem likely, because in the sequence ει the scribe normally extends the cross-bar of ε to touch ι, and there is no sign of a cross-bar here.

7-8 δε π[ολεμου]ν]τε[ς] ε]παυσα[μεθα with ΛΠΖ: δ' ε]παυσα̂μεθα πολεμο̂ντες P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ.

11-12 θα]λατταν with codd.: θαλασσαν P. Lond. Lit.

12-14 ηθε]λησαν Λα[κεδαμο]ν]ιοι with P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} codd.. The second corrector of P. Lond. Lit. added ηναγκασαμεν Λακεδαμονιους in the lower margin.

22-3 τυγχανομεν with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ: ε]τυγχάνομεν ΛΠΖ. Space would allow either.

26 υμιν with ΓΕ: ἡμῖν ΛΠΖ.

26-7 καθεστη]κνίαιc with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕ: καθεστώσης ΛΠΖ.

27 ωc δ [ουδ restored after P. Lond. Lit. codd.: ὡστε δ' Γ, corr. Γ².

28 δυνηθειημ]εν with P. Lond. Lit. ΛΕ: δυνηθείμεν Γ.

Col. iv

2-3 γιγν]ο]μεναc with codd. (except T): γιν- P. Lond. Lit. T. The traces here support a second τ, not ν.

3 ο]υτοc with P. Lond. Lit.^{pc} ΓΕΠ: οὗτω P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} ΛΖ.

5–6 *μειρησαν*[[*τας*]. The itacistic spelling is also present in P. Lond. Lit., but it is likely to be accidental.

6 There is no trace of a letter in the space to the left of *β*, even though the surface is partly preserved. Perhaps there was a middle stop, where the fibres are now abraded at mid-height, marking pause in the sense before *βελτιόνων*.

10 *τραχυτητος* with P. Lond. Lit.^{pc} codd.: *βραχυτητος* P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} (first hand).

12 *ρηθησεσθαι* with codd.: P. Lond. Lit. has *ρηθησασθαι* with the first *a* corrected to *ε*.

13–14 *ταυτ ε*[[*χω* with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΛΠΖ: *ταῦτα εἶχω* (*scriptio plena*) Γ²E.

14 I interpret the final traces as a space-filler. Since the line ends here, it is not surprising that the second dot of the diacresis above *υ* should be displaced to the right.

15–16 *απελι*[[*πον παλ*]]*ιν* with ΓE. P. Lond. Lit. originally had *απελιπεν υμειν*; the second corrector changed *-πεν* to *-πον*, deleted *υμειν*, and added *παλιν*. There is nothing to exclude *υμ(ε)ιν* in our papyrus.

16 *ποιηι*. The transmitted text reads *ποιήσομαι*. The intrusive iota adscript is unparalleled elsewhere in this papyrus.

A. NODAR

4732. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 75–8

23 3B.2/G(1–3)b

12.2 × 15 cm

First half of the third century

The tops of two successive columns from a roll, written across the fibres, with 17 lines in col. i and 16 in col. ii. The height of col. i as preserved is 10.8 cm; from the end of line 15 up to the beginning of col. ii 1 there are 280 missing letters (based on Mathieu's text and assuming the scribe wrote iota adscript), which, when distributed into average lines of 13 letters each, result in 21–2 lines. This gives a column of 36–7 lines, with a height of c.24 cm. The upper margin is 4.8 cm deep; if we assume that there was a similar lower margin, then the roll height should have been around 34 cm. The intercolumnar space is a maximum 2.5 cm wide. Along the fibres on the other side are parts of a land register.

The medium-sized capitals keep to rather better defined upper and lower limits than is usual in this Formal mixed or Severe Style. There is a slight slant to the right. *Υ* and *Φ* (with an extremely long descender and almost no riser) project downwards, and so does *Ρ*; *Τ* may also do so, and its high horizontal is normally placed high in the line, except when followed by *ε*, in which case it tends to equal the height of the middle horizontal of the vowel. Similarly, the horizontal of *Π* tends to be placed lower in the line. *Ο*, smaller than the rest of the letters, has a variable height in the line. Letters are angular and share a general flattened look. There is some shading: in general, vertical strokes are thicker than horizontals, and so are obliques descending to the right compared to those ascending to the right. Ornament is scarce: curves and obliques descending to the right may present a hook facing down at their upper end. Lines are regularly spaced, and so are letters, although they may touch each other, especially when the right-hand elements of the first one consist of an oblique descending to the right; sometimes the cross-bar of *ε* touches the following letter, and so occasionally does the base of *Δ* (an outstanding instance in col. i 10). This handwriting is comparable to that in 4731, assigned to the first half of the third century; cf. *Υ*, in two movements with the left-hand oblique drawn separately; *ε* and *ϵ*, the former presenting

the same extremely long crossbar. For other comparable hands see XVII **2098** (*GLH* 19b, datable to the first half of the third century), with which **4731** was compared, and VII **1016** (*GLH* 20a), also datable to the early third century. The script may thus be assigned a date in the first half of the third century.

No accents or breathings; the only observable reading mark is a *paragraphos* below ii 8. Elision is effected but not marked; there is no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written. There is one correction, probably due to a different hand (i 7).

A new variant occurs in i 7. The same section of text is attested in P. Lond. Lit. 131 and partly in **4733**.

Col. i

δεσ α]νδρες αμει (§75)
 νους η]σαν Υπερβο
 λου κα]ι Κλεοφων
 τος κα]ι τ[ων] νυν
 5 δημη]γ[ορ]ουνητων
 τον δε δ]ημον ευ
 ρ]η[σετε] τον [[τοτε]]
 πολι]τευομενον
 ουκ αργι]ας ουδ απο
 10 ριας ο]υδ ελπιδων
 κεν]ων ονητα με
 στον] αλλα νικαν §76
 μεν δ]υναμενον
 εν ταις μα]χαις α
 15 παντα]ς του[ς] εις
 την χωρα]ν [
].[
 . . .

Col. ii

δε [το]υ νικαν τους (§77)
 επιστ[ρ]ατευοντα[ς
 ουτω [τ]ου[ς] πολι]τας
 επαιδευ[σεν] ως]τε
 5 μηδε π[ρο]των] τει
 χων τ[ολμαν] ε]πε

ξίενα[ι τοις] πολε
 μι[οις αντι δ]ε τ[ης] §78
 ευνο[ιας της πα]ρα
 10 των [κυμμαχ]ων
 αυτο[ις υπαρχο]υς[ης]
 και τ[ης δοξης της
 πα[ρα των αλλων
 Ἑλλη]νων εις τοσου
 15 το με[ιςος
]..[

Col. i

2–3 Υπερβολ[λου with ΓΛΕ: Υπερβουλου P. Lond. Lit. originally, changed to Ευβουλου by the third hand.

7 τον with codd. except for Π, which omits the article.

[[τοτε]] deleted with a short oblique above each letter. This is a new variant. It seems quite unacceptable, since τότε is required to contrast with νῦν above. Possibly the actual variant was τὸν πολιτευόμενον τότε (the corrector would have deleted τοτε here and added it superscript at the beginning of 9, where the papyrus is now broken).

10–11 ο]υδ' ελπιδων | [κεν]ων with codd.: ουδε κεν[ων] ελπιδων P. Lond. Lit.

14–15 α|[παντα]ς with ΓΕ: πάντας P. Lond. Lit. ΑΠΖ.

16 Trace above the line, of uncertain function.

Col. ii

1 δε with P. Lond. Lit. corr. codd. The original reading in P. Lond. Lit. may have been, according to Mandilaras, μεν <τ>ου, with τ omitted, and inserted by the second corrector.

2 επιστ[ρ]ατευοντα[ς with codd.: επιστρατευ[ς]αντας P. Lond. Lit.

3 πο]λιτας: πολείτας P. Lond. Lit. (corrected by the second hand) **4733**.

4 παιδευ[σεν restored with codd.: -σαν P. Lond. Lit. originally (corrected by the second hand).

5 π[ρο των] restored with codd.: προς τον P. Lond. Lit. originally (corrected by the second hand).

5–6 τειχων with P. Lond. Lit. (τιχων) **4733** codd.: τυχών Π.

8 The *paragraphos* very probably marks the beginning of a new element in the period, structured by means of the correlation μέν . . . δέ.

11 αυτο[ις with **4733** codd.: αυτη P. Lond. Lit., corrected by the second hand.

13 αλλων with **4733** codd. (except Π, where it is omitted, but added later in margin). Here spacing indicates that it was present.

14–15 τοσου]το with P. Lond. Lit. Π: τοσοῦτον **4733** ΓΕ: τοσοῦτω ΛΖ. Grammar requires the accusative; inscriptions show that τοσοῦτον, not τοσοῦτο, was the normal Attic form (see L. Thraette, *Grammar* ii 329).

15 με[ιςος restored after P. Lond. Lit. (μεικος) ΓΕΠ (μίκος): μίκους ΛΖ. Spacing would allow either reading.

A. NODAR

4733. ISOCRATES, *DE PAGE* 77–9

33 4B.87/G(1)b

3.5 × 11.8 cm

Second century

A fragment of a roll with line-beginnings and an upper margin of 3.6 cm; intercolumnium 1 cm at its greatest extent. There were 16–18 letters to the line, which gives an estimated column width of c.5 cm. The initial letters in lines 1–5 are enlarged; lines begin progressively to the left as the column descends (Maas's law). The back is blank.

No lectional signs are in evidence. The script is an informal rounded one, to be assigned to the second century, earlier rather than later; there are affinities with Roberts, *GLH* 13b. Bilinear, only the flamboyant α reaches below (no example of ϕ or ψ). ϵ has its cap drawn separately; the crossbar of θ projects on both sides; τ occasionally has a 'broken' top-stroke.

The papyrus transmits a portion of the text also present in P. Lond. Lit. 131 and (partly) 4732. Textually, it offers nothing new, though we may note that it systematically sides with the Urbinas against the 'vulgate'.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------|
| | πολειτ[ας επαιδευσειν | (§77) |
| | ω]ς τε μ[ηδε προ των | |
| | τε]ιχω[ν τολμαν επε | |
| | ξιεναι [τοις πολεμοις | |
| 5 | αντι δε [της ευνοιας | §78 |
| | της παρα [των συμμαχων | |
| | αυτοις υπ[αρχουσης και | |
| | της δοξη[ς της παρα των | |
| | αλλων Ελ[ληνων εις το | |
| 10 | κουτον μ[ικρος καταστη | |
| | σαν ως[τε παρα μικρον | |
| | ελθειν ε[ξ ανδραποδι | |
| | σθηναι [την πολιν ει | |
| | μη [Λακεδαιμονιων των | |
| 15 | εξ [αρχης πολεμου | |
| | των[εν ευνοστερων | |
| | ετυχ[ομεν η των προ | |
| | τερ[ον ημιν συμμα | |
| | χων [οντων ος ουκ αν | §79 |
| 20 | δικαι[ως εγκαλοιμεν | |
| | οτι χα[λεπως προς | |

9–10 το||κουτον with ΓΕ: τοκούτο **4732** P. Lond. Lit. Π: τοκούτω ΛΖ. See **4732** 14–15 n.

10 μ[ιςος restored with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕΠ: μίςουc ΛΖ.

10–11 κατεστη||σαν with P. Lond. Lit.^{pc} ΓΕΛΠ: κατέστηcεν P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} Λ²Ζ.

N. GONIS

4734. ISOCRATES, DE PACE 96

86/57(a)

4.5 × 17.8 cm

Second century

A fragment of a roll with 22 lines from one column, written along the fibres. The back is blank. The column is preserved to a height of 12.8 cm. The lower margin is 5 cm deep.

The hand is an example of the Formal Round category, strictly bilinear, slanting slightly to the right, with some features in common with the ‘Roman Uncial’, though it does not reach the standardization represented by the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*² 13, second century). The letters have a square appearance; even the so-called round letters (ε, θ, ο, c, ω) are formed rather angularly: c and ε may have a straight back, the verticals of ω (of the same height) are often connected by right angles instead of curved strokes, the central angle of μ is flattened and low in the line, and something similar has happened to the curved strokes of ψ, which form a very broad angle. α preserves its angularity, and so do Δ and λ, although the latter may be formed with more curved strokes. There is some decoration: hooks or semi-serifs to the left on verticals, and high horizontals may present an initial or final blob, and e.g. the left branch of γ may have a blob at the end. The stylization is sufficiently idiosyncratic (especially in the forms of μ and ω) to identify it as that of a scribe who was responsible for at least four other literary rolls from Oxyrhynchus (identified as scribe no. 2 by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* 149): XXIV **2404** (Plate XIII; E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* pl. VIII), Aeschines; XXIII **2373** (Pl. XI), Boeotian Verse; PSI IX 1090 (Tav. IV), Erinna, and now LXIX **4720**, Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem* 22. Note that the column-width in this papyrus as reconstructed (12–14 letters, c.5 cm) is the same as in **2404**, and the deep lower margin is similarly comparable. Lobel assigned **2373** to the second century, and was followed in this by Turner (**2404** introd.). **4734** may incline towards the first half of the century, since it still shows some stiffness.

No left or right margins are preserved, except probably the right margin in 22, where we would expect to see traces if another letter had followed λη. The restored text in the lines below assumes that this was the right-hand margin, and divides accordingly. If this is correct, the line-ends were somewhat irregular (unless adjusted for size or compression) and the line-beginnings slope outwards to the left lower down the column (Maas’s Law). **2404** shows the same slope, and the scribe there sometimes writes letters smaller at line-ends in order to reduce the irregularity.

There are no accents or breathings; only high and low stops are written. There is no opportunity to observe whether the scribe elided final vowels or wrote iota adscript.

The papyrus offers no new variants. It overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131.

1 επλ]ης[.]ν· αδ[ι]κ[ιας] (§96)
 ραιθ]υμιας· ἀγο[μι
 ας φι]λαργυριας [το
 δε] κ[ο]νον· τη[ς πο
 5 λε]ως. υπεροψ[ιας
 με]ν των κυμ[μα
 χω]ν επιθυμι[ας δε
 τω]ν αλλοτριω[ν ο
 λιγ]ωριας δε τω[ν
 10 ορκ]ων και τω[ν κυν
 θηκ]ων· τοσου[τον
 γαρ υ]περεβαλο[ντο
 το]υς ημετερο[υς
 15 τοι]ς εις τους Ελ[λη
 νας α]μαρτημα[σιν
 οσον] προς τοις [προ
 τερον] υπαρχου[σιν
 σφαγα]ς και στα[σεις
 εν τα]ις πο[λ]εσι[ν
 20]ποιησαν· εξ [ων
 αειμ]νηστους στα[ς
 εχθρ]ας προς αλλη

1 επλ]ης[.]ν: -εν P. Lond. Lit.^{pc} ΓΕ: -αν P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} ΑΠΖ.

2 ραιθ]υμιας. I have supplied the iota adscript as the conventional spelling, although the papyrus affords no opportunity to tell if it was written elsewhere.

12 υ]περεβαλο[ντο with Γ: -βαλλοντο Δ: υπερεβαλον P. Lond. Lit. (an easy haplography), which would be too short for the space here.

17 υπαρχου[σιν with P. Lond. Lit. Γ, supported by the space: -σι ΑΠΖ.

20]ποιησαν: ἐποίησαν P. Lond. Lit. Γ: ἐνεποίησαν Γ² Ε: ἐποίησαντο ΑΠΖ. Here ε]ποιησαν would be too short for the space; ε|νε]ποιησαν would fit well, and if correct would accord with the correction in Γ and ΔΕ.

A high stop, used in 2 to separate elements in an enumeration, stands before a relative clause whose antecedent has already appeared. This may imply that the relative clause stands independently, with the relative pronoun having demonstrative function.

4735. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 105

8 1B.199/E(1)b

3.9 × 13.2 cm

Early third century

Fragment of a roll with remains of 19 lines written along the fibres, the back being blank except for insignificant traces. The upper margin is preserved for 1 cm.

The script is very much like that in **4726**, exemplifying the Formal mixed or Severe Style. It is slightly slanting to the right, and fairly quickly executed, with connecting strokes in the remarkably long cross-bars of ε and ϑ; also the horizontals of ρ and τ may occasionally touch the following letter. There is some decoration. As with **4726**, it compares well with XXVII **2452** (*GMAW*² 27) and may be assigned to the early third century.

There are no accents or breathings, but there are instances of inorganic diaeresis (2 and 5). Elision is effected (12, and also apparently in the superscript above this same line), but not marked. Blank spaces signal pauses in the text, perhaps systematically, though spaces larger than normal may be found even inside words.

Position of line-beginning is shown at 15, where there is only one way of dividing the text between lines, so that two letters must have been lost here before the present left-hand edge. The restored beginnings of 1, 4, and 12 are shorter than the others in this division of the lines; but if another syllable is carried over, they become too long. Some line-ends may have been adjusted by size and spacing of the final letters. There are two corrections (7, 12), both due to the original scribe.

A possible new variant in 12. The papyrus overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131.

	τε] γαρ μεις[ηθεν	(§105)
	τεc] ὑπ[ο] των [συμμα	
	χων] και περι αυ[δρα	
	πο]διμου κι[νδυ	
5	νευc]αντες ὑπ[ο Λα	
	κε]δαιμονιω[ν ε	
	cω]θημεν εκ[ει	
	νοι] τε παντων	
	αυτ]ους απολε	
10	και βο]υληθεντω[ν	
	εφ] ημαc κατα[φν	
	γο]ντες [[εφ]]δι η[μων	
	τ]ηc cωτηρια[c ε	
	τυ]χον καιτ[οι	
15	πω]c χρη την [αρ	

χη]ν ταυτην ε[παι
 νε]ιν την τας [τε
 λευ]τας ουτω [πο
 νη]ρας εχου[σαν

1-2 μεις[ηθεν]τες. Γ originally had *μικηθέν*, later corrected to *-θέντες*; *μικηθέν* makes no sense, and in any case would be too short for the space here. The itacistic spelling appears also in P. Lond. Lit. (with ε crossed out by the second corrector).

6-7 ε[σω]θημεν. μ is a correction, written over an uncertain letter.

12 A row of dots written above εφ, and δι above η, by the original scribe. It looks as if the scribe wrote εφ ημας or ημων under the influence of εφ ημας just above, then deleted εφ and added δι (perhaps he also changed ημας to ημων).

15-16 αρ[χη]ν ταυτην with P. Lond. Lit. ΓΕΠ: *αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν Λ: τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν Λ².*

17-18 τε[λευ]τας. Mandilaras's edition of P. Lond. Lit. gives *τελετ[άς]*, but this is probably a slip; a check of the photograph shows that the papyrus has *τελευ[τας]*.

A. NODAR

4736. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 142

72/23(e)

4.8 × 4 cm

Second century
Plate V

A small fragment of a roll with the beginnings of seven lines written along the fibres. No upper or lower margins are preserved; the left-hand margin survives to 1.5 cm. On the back and across the fibres there are remains of four lines of cursive, with names (*Θέωνο[ς]* *τοῦ Διογ[ένου]* (?) in 1, *Ἄρ[ποκρ[ατι-]* in 4). On the same side as the literary text, written downward in the left margin (i.e. with the scrap turned 90° counter-clockwise) are further remains perhaps in the same cursive hand: *Καί[α]ρος Γαῖου Πεκκ[εννίου]*. (Of a second line only negligible tops of 3 or 4 letters under *Γαῖου* survive, but these were clearly written before the papyrus was cut or broken.) Thus we have someone practice-writing in the margin of a literary text the titulature of Pescennius Niger, who proclaimed himself emperor at Antioch in mid-April 193 and was recognised in Egypt until February 194. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the literary text.

The hand is a Formal mixed ('Severe Style') script, medium-sized, with a slight slant to the right. There is no appreciable ornament; blobs visible at the end of some strokes are due to the stopping of the pen, and only the curving of some strokes to the right may occasionally finish in a very tiny hook (cf. x in 6). Some strokes may occasionally touch others (especially the high horizontal of τ and the right-hand oblique of λ). Compare **4737** below, X **1234** (pl. IV; Abb. 84 in Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, Alcaeus), assigned to the second half of the second century, and XVII **2098** (*GLH* 19b, Herodotus), datable to the early third century. However, the present hand retains some of the crispness of execution

aimed at by I 26 (*GLH* 19a, Demosthenes, *Prooemia*), datable to the second half of the second century. Without an objective indication it might have been difficult to exclude an early third-century date for this hand, but the marginal jotting shows it firmly rooted in the second century, probably the second half.

The text presents no reading marks; iota adscript is written, but there is no opportunity to judge whether elision was effected or marked.

The papyrus overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131. It reveals no new variants, but reflects an interesting aspect of the tradition. The papyrus gives part of §142 of *De Pace*, and thereby falls in the middle of a longer passage (§§132–45) quoted in its entirety by Isocrates at *De Antidosi* §66. There Γ and most other MSS give only the opening words of this section; but some (signalled in the notes below, as in Mandilaras's edition, by lower-case Greek letters) transmit a complete text, which differs in some respects from the texts of the same passage transmitted in MSS of *De Pace*. 4736 in several places tallies with this secondary tradition. In 2 it does so with the concurrence of P. Lond. Lit. 131 and the main MSS of *De Pace*. But in 3–4, 5, and 6–7 it agrees with the quotation in *Antid.* against the MSS of *De Pace*, in 3–4 and 5 also against P. Lond. Lit. 131. In 6–7, the reading of the papyrus has been entered as a correction in P. Lond. Lit. 131. Of course, it is possible that we have a fragment of a copy of *Antid.* in the version that recorded the complete quotation of the passage (cf. XLV 3233, discussed by Pinto, *Per la storia del testo di Isocrate* 87–90). *Antid.*, however, is rarely attested on papyrus. This in itself is not conclusive, but it can be argued that this is a copy of *De Pace*, since P. Lond. Lit. 131 shows that variants we now know only from the secondary tradition did occur in manuscripts of *De Pace* in the Roman period (see on 6–7 and Mandilaras, app. crit.). Presumably these have left their imprint on the manuscript tradition of *De Pace* from which the full quotation in some MSS of *Antid.* was taken.

.

γνωμένω[ν κτησας (§142)

θαι δε τηι π[ολει την

ηγεμονιαν [εις απαν

τα τον χρονο[ν μιση

5 και δ[ε] πασας τ[ας τυραν

νι[κας] αρχας κ[αι δυνας

τ[ειας] αναλο[γι

.

1 γι|γνωμένω[ν with codd. (except Π, which has γιγνωμένους) *Antid.*: γινομένων P. Lond. Lit.

2 τηι π[ολει with P. Lond. Lit. (πολι corrected to πολει) codd. λθ: om. ΛΠΖ.

3–4 εις απαν|τα τον χρονο[ν with λθ: εις τον ἅπαντα χρόνον P. Lond. Lit. codd.

5 δ[ε] πασας with λθ: μὲν ἀπάσας P. Lond. Lit. codd.

6–7 κ[αι δυνας]|τ[ειας with P. Lond. Lit. second corrector; λθ: καὶ τὰς δυναστείας P. Lond. Lit.^{ac} codd. Of

τ, only the lower part of the stem survives. Spacing suggests that the papyrus did not have τac, which would have made 6 a very long line.

Before τ in 7 in the margin is a dot. Possibly it formed part of a critical sign (if not stray ink from the marginal practice-writing).

A. NODAR

4737. ISOCRATES, *DE PACE* 144–5

48 5B.30/B(4)a

17 × 20.5 cm

Second half of second century
Plate XIII

Portion of a papyrus roll with the final two columns of the speech with the end-title, followed by a broad blank space. The text is written across the fibres. On the front, written the same way up along the fibres, are extensive remains of a land register; there is a mention of year 19 of an unnamed Emperor, which would suit almost any reign between 19 Trajan (115/16) and 19 Severus, Caracalla and Geta (210/11).

Column i has 22 lines at its full height; col. ii has 13, at which point the speech finishes, marked by a *coronis*. The end-title follows below after a short blank interval; no author's name is given. There is a marginal gloss on ii 10 in a small script in three short lines to the right. The height of the full column is c.13 cm. The upper margin is preserved to 3 cm, and lower (below col. i) to 4.5 cm. The intercolumnar space is 1.5 cm. In this format the speech would have filled c.136 columns and extended to around 8 m. The blank space to the right (ignoring the gloss) extends for 6 cm, and gives the impression of having been the end of the roll (see below on title).

The text presents no reading marks (but see note on i 9). The scribe uses filler-signs (e.g. i 2) to create an even right-hand edge, and employs the *coronis* (combined with a long *paraphos*, seemingly in lighter ink) to mark the end of the speech. There is no opportunity to observe whether the scribe effected and marked elision, or wrote iota adscript. One correction to the text (see on i 18) is due to the main hand, as is the marginal gloss to ii 10–11.

The hand is an example of the Formal mixed or Severe Style, with only a slight slant to the right, written small and neat, and comparable to XX **2256** (*GMW*⁷² 25), assigned to the late second or early third century. ο is very small; ω and occasionally c are written smaller and likewise raised above line-level. ω has only a slight rise in the centre; its left and right-hand curves are oblique, nearly vertical strokes. μ is made in three movements, with central curved stroke facing upwards without descending to line-level. α is written in two movements and sometimes presents a sort of loop at the junction of the two obliques rising to the right. In α, α, and λ the oblique descending to the right may be prolonged above its junction with the oblique rising to the right. There is some contrast between thick and thin strokes, but no ornamentation. Other comparable examples are *GLH* 15c and 17b (= V **842**), both datable to the second half of the second century. Both are more slanting to the right and less carefully written than the hand of **4737** (and **2256**), but the treatment

of letters is similar. The hand may be assigned by comparison to the second half of the second century.

A new variant appears at i 7, and there is an unexpected agreement with one branch of the manuscript tradition at ii 10–11. The text overlaps with P. Lond. Lit. 131, and enjoys a secondary transmission as part of the quotation in *De Antidosi* §66.

Col. i

των εχουσιν ην υπο (§144)
 λαβωσι την δυνα >
 μιν την ημετεραν
 μη δουλειας αλλα σω
 5 τηρ]ιας αυτοις αιτι
 αν] εξεσθαι πολλων §145
 δε και] παντοιων λο
 γων ε]νοντων πε
 ρι την υ]ποθεσιν ταυ
 10 την εμοι] μεν αμ
 φοτερα συ]μβουλευ
 ει παυσασθα]ι λεγον
 τι και το μη]κος του
 λογου και το π]ληθος
 15 των ετων τω]ν ε
 μων τοις δε] νε
 ωτεροις και] μαλ>
 λον ακμαζο]υσι[[>]]ν
 η εγω παραιν]ω>
 20 και παρακελε]υο>
 μαι τα τοιαυ]τα
 και λεγειν κα]ι γρα

Col. ii

φειν εξ ων τας με
 γιστας των πολεων
 και τας ειθισμενας
 ταις αλλαις κακα παρ
 5 εχειν [πρ]οτρεψου >

reading with extensive circulation; here it was added by the original scribe, which suggests that he found it in his exemplar. It may have been added by collation at some stage in the transmission, but its parallel transmission in two ancient manuscripts suggests the authority of a variant that might have gone back to very early copies, perhaps even an authorial variant. However, one might suppose that φιλοσόφων is right, and πολιτευομένων is a conjecture designed to give a more obvious sense (cf. §133).

12 πο[λυ with P. Lond. Lit. Γ Ε λ ε θ: πολλῶ Λ Π Ζ. Spacing favours the shorter reading.

[β]ελετω. The spelling ει for ι also in P. Lond. Lit., where it is not corrected (cf. next word).

12–13 γεινε[θαι]: γ[ε]ινεσθαι P. Lond. Lit.: γίνεσθαι Π: γίγνεσθαι codd.

Title. Mandilaras records three different variants for the title: (1) περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, in Γ; (2) περὶ εἰρήνης, in Δ Ε; and (3) περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἢ συμμαχικός, in the vulgate. P. Lond. Lit. presents (1), preceded by *Ισοκρατους*, immediately after the end of the speech, and (2) in the following column, at about mid-height, also preceded by *Ισοκρατους*. **4737** clearly had (1) without the name of the author.

The absence of the author's name calls for explanation. The authorship of the speech can hardly have been in doubt. The author's name may have appeared at the beginning of the roll (with or without an initial title). Its absence here might indicate that the roll originally formed (or was designed to form) part of a multi-speech copy of Isocrates' works, i.e. with another speech following. On the other side (front), the line-ends of a column preceding a complete one of the land register show that before being reused the roll continued beyond this point, and thus it might have continued with another speech after the surviving broad blank space, but that blank space gives the impression of having been the end of the reused roll. Perhaps the papyrus was copied from a multi-speech roll (which for this reason lacked the author's name), or it was cut down from one and used as a roll ending with the close of *Περὶ εἰρήνης*.

A. NODAR

4738. LUCIAN, *DIALOGI DEORUM* (79) 10.1–2

8 1B.196/C(1–3)d back

5.1 × 10.9 cm

Third century
Plate XIV

Top of column and 18 narrowly-spaced lines written across the fibres in an informal hand. On the other side and along the fibres is LXVIII **4666**, containing top of column and vv. 253–65 of the Hesiodic *Scutum* in a large Biblical Uncial script, similar if not identical to PSI IX 1087 (see **4666** introd.). The hand of the present text is a smallish mannered cursive of the third century, generally rounded with accentuated curves and loops (e.g. on 1 μ, 2 and 5 γ, 12 κ with looped bottom). Strokes are extended horizontally (1 from foot of η at base-line, 2 from top of c, 16 from tail of λ) or diagonally (12 flying right arm of γ) at line-end as though to produce an even right-hand edge; but the effect is mitigated by e.g. 13, which ends far short of the other line-ends. Letter-shapes (1 end η, 12 γ) suggest a date in the third century. For a comparable hand see VIII **1100** (Roberts, *GLH* 20b, Prefectural Edict, dated 206).

Elision is effected and marked by apostrophe (2), and punctuation is indicated in the form of a large raised mid-point (3) with a space following and coinciding with change of speaker in the dialogue. Iota-adscript is treated inconsistently: written once (6) and omitted once (14), in the only places where we can tell; there is at least one iotacistic spelling

(6 μι|[ρακιον). The width of letters and compression of writing varies considerably (cf. 3, 5, 12). As supplemented with the transmitted text of Lucian, the column of writing is very broad (43–54 letters). The cursive character of the hand and re-used back suggest a private copy. However, its extent and relation to the literary text on the front is uncertain (see on 2 ονυχας).

The reused back of a literary text to inscribe another literary text might point to a scholar's copy. But in this case the text copied is a near-contemporary one, consistent with the reuse of backs for subliterate texts and related writing of a casual nature. The writing of the papyrus is within a generation or so of the lifetime of Lucian himself (c.120–180). Thus we have an early copy of a dialogue with Lucianic authorship firmly attached to it. It is uncertain when the Lucianic corpus was gathered together. H. Erbse, *Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen . . . Literatur* (Zürich 1961) 598, thinks it unlikely that there was an ancient edition, and it has been supposed to have come into existence in the Byzantine period (C. W. Müller, *Die Kurzdialoge der Appendix Platonica* (München 1975) 274). In light of these doubts, the papyrus text, in spite of its informal production, stays remarkably close to the medieval paradosis where we can judge, agreeing inconsistently in the few places where we can tell with both the β and γ sides of the tradition.

Lucian is sparsely represented among literary papyri from Egypt: see P. Lond. Lit. 194, identified as Lucianic *Asinus* by J. Lennaerts, *Cd'É* 97 (1974) 115–20; cf. LII 3683 (*Halcyon*), which is attributed to Plato in its colophon, but is transmitted in our medieval MSS among the spurious dialogues attributed both to Lucian and to Plato (also in antiquity to Leon the Academic). An *Anacharsis* (whether by Lucian or some other) appears in the book-list PSI-Laur. inv. 19662v (Pack² 2087) at line 7 (R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Roma 2000) no. 16, pp. 89–95, at p. 90). There is no means of telling whether Lucian's official service in Alexandria (*Apol.* 12) speeded the reception of his work in Egypt. This is therefore the first papyrus of a work of undisputed Lucianic authorship, and the first papyrus of *Dialogi deorum* to be published. The chapter preserved by the papyrus (10) consists of a dialogue between Zeus and Ganymede. The chapter will have begun with the first line in the papyrus, and would have extended as transmitted to roughly 4.5 times the amount of text preserved here. Whether it continued on to a following column to be completed is unknown. In 3, the only place where we can judge, change of speaker is indicated by mid-point and space.

The text has been restored *exempli gratia* to illustrate spacing from the edition of M. D. Macleod (his libellus 79 in vol. iv, Oxford 1987), with which the papyrus text has been compared, along with the Teubner text of Lucian, ed. C. Jacobitz (1851), and the Weidmann edition of Lucian, ed. I. Sommerbrodt (1886–96).

αγε ω Γανυμηδες ηκομεν γαρ ενθα εχρηνη] φιλησον με ηδη
 οπως ειδηις ουκετι ραμφος αγκυλον εχον]τα ουδ' ονυχας
 οξεις ουδε πτερα οιος εφαινομην σοι πτηνος ειναι δ]οκων· ανθρω
 πε ουκ αετος αρτι ηρθα και καταπταμενος ηρπ]αας με απο

10.1

5 μέσου του ποιμνίου πως ουν τα μεν πτερα εκεινα σοι ε]ξ[ε]ρυηκε συ
 δε αλλος ηδη αναπεφηνας αλλ' ουτε ανθρωπον] οραις ω μι
 ρακιον ουτε αετον ο δε παντων βασιλευς των] θεων ουτος
 ειμι προς τον καιρον αλλαξας εμαυτον τι φηις] συ γαρ ει ο Παν
 εκεινος ειτα πως κυριγγα ουκ εχεις ουδε κερατα] ο[υδε] λασιος
 10 ει τα σκελη μονον γαρ εκεινον ηγηι θεον ναι και θυο]μεν γε
 αυτωι ενορχην τραγον επι το σπηλαιον αγωντες ενθα εστ]ηκει
 συ δε ανδραποδις τις εινα μοι δοκεις ειπε μοι Διος δε ου]κ ηκου 10.2
 κας ονομα ουδε βωμον ειδες εν τωι Γαργαρωι του υοντος κ]αι
 βροντωντος και αστραπας ποιουντος συ ω βελτιστε φ]ης ει
 15 ναι ο πρωην καταχεας ημιν την πολλην χαλαζαν ο οικ]ειν
 υπερανω λεγομενος ο ποιων τον ψοφον ω τον κριον ο] πα
 τηρ εθυσεν ειτα τι αδικησαντα με ανηρπασας ω βασιλε]υ των
 θεων τα δε προβατα ιως οι λυκοι διαρπασονται ηδη] ερη
 μοις]

2 ουνχας: It may simply be coincidence that the text on the front contains *Scut.* 254 βαλλῆ ὄνυχας μεγάλους, ψυχὴ δὲ Ἰδιδόδετ' κατῆεν, a line that has suffered much in transmission, in particular from corruption before ὄνυχας (see on LXVIII 4692 254). Other than the occurrence of the word ὄνυχας, the Lucianic text has no clear relation to the poetic text on the front, and there is no particular reason to think that this passage from Lucian, *Dial. deor.* has been copied out on the back simply for comparison of the occurrence of this word.

3 ουδε: We have restored *exempli gratia* according to γ (with Macleod): οὐ β, which might better suit the space here. But the size of letters and compression of writing in the papyrus is elastic, so that it is not certain that the line could not have accommodated γ's οὐδέ.

6-7 ανθρωπον] οραις . . . [αετον: supplied according to β: ἄνθρωπος ὄν . . . ἀετός γ. The only evidence here is spacing (was there room for ον before οραις?) which is difficult to decide in so long a line.

8-9 ει ο Παν | [εκεινος: with β (punctuated as a question): ὁ Πάν ἐκεῖνος εἶ; γ (printed by Macleod). The central point here is the clear presence of εἶ before ὁ Πάν, which is also in conformity with the spacing expected earlier in the line.

11 εστ]ηκει: with γ: ἔστηκε β, correctly. But κ is read with difficulty (it looks more like μ or a U-shaped β): compare shape of κ in 12.

12 ου]κ ηκου-: The υ of ηκου is written out into the margin.

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

4739. LEASE OF LAND

32 4B.4/B(1-4)a

9.1 × 16.2 cm

15 August 127

First published by Marcel Hombert in *Le Monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 601-8, with pl. XVI. The notes below are supplementary to those of Hombert, who comments in detail on many of the individual clauses.

The basic studies of land-leases are those by J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (München 1958), and by D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (München 1967). For the social and economic aspects of leases, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996), who gives a list of land-leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD, complete up to 1994, in her Appendix 2. Additions are given in LXVII **4595** introd.; add P. Col. X 273, 280(?), 284, SB XX 14290, 14291(?), 14337, 14338, 14399, 14464, 14642, 14983, 14984, XXII 15724, and now LXIX **4739, 4745, 4747, 4753**. For the rent charged in leases of land up to the reign of Diocletian, see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* (1991) 155 ff., with Tables on pp. 192 ff.; for Oxyrhynchus, see pp. 167-74 and Tables on pp. 224-37.

ἐμίσθωσεν Εὐδαίμων Εὐδαίμονος ἀπ' Ὀξύ-
ρύχων πόλεως Διονυσίῳ Διονυσίου μητρὸς
Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Πέλα Ληνῶνος Πέρση
τῆ[ς] ἐπιγονῆς εἰς ἔτη ἕξ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόντος δωδεκάτου
5 ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τὰς ὑπαρχούσας
αὐτῷ περὶ Πάειμιν ἀρούρας δέκα ἡμίσι τρίτον,
μηδεμιᾶ[ς] γ]εωμετρίας γεινομένης, ὥστε κατ' ἔτος
τὸ μὲν ἡμίσι σπεῖραι πυρῶ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἡμι[ς]
ξυλαμῆσαι χλωροῖς εἰς βρώσιν, ἐκφορίου ἀπο-
10 τάκτου τῶν ὄλων ἀρουρῶν κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρτα-
βῶν ἐνενήκοντα μιᾶς ἀκινδύνων παντὸς
κινδύνου· ἔὰν δέ τις ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδε-
χθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ, τῶν τῆς γῆς
κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμι-
15 θω[κ]ότα, ὃν καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν ἕως
τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίσεται. βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς
μισθώσεως ἀποδότω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ

μεμισθωκότι τὸ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτον ἀεὶ
 μηρὶ Παῦνι ἐφ' ἄλλω Ληνώνος πυρὸν νέον
 20 καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευ-
 μένον ὡς εἰς δημόσιον μετρούμενον
 μέτρῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ Διογένους Ἀλεξάνδρου
 ἀπὸ Πέλα ἢ ἀποτικᾶτω ὃ ἐάν προσοφειλέσῃ με-
 θ' ἡμιολίας, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω τῷ μεμισθωκό-
 25 τι ἔκ τε τοῦ μεμισθωμένου καὶ ἔκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ με-
 μισθωκότι ὑπερβόλιον . . . [.] νειν οὐδὲ
 ἑτέροις μεταμισθοῖν οὐδὲ αὐ[τ]οῦργεῖν ἐντὸς
 τοῦ χρόνου. κυρία ἡ μίσθω[ς]ις. (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος
 30 Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβασ[το]ῦ Μεσορῆ κβ.
 (m.2) Διονύσις Διονυζίου μεμίσ-
 θω[μαι

4 l. εἰσιόντος 7 l. γινομένης 20 l. ἄκριθον 28 μεταμισθον: some correction to second μ?
 l. μεταμισθοῦν 29 L 31 l. Διονύσιος

'Eudaemon son of Eudaemon from the city of Oxyrhynchus leased to Dionysius son of Dionysius, his mother being Thaeasis, from Lenon near Pela, a Persian of the Epigone, for six years from the incoming twelfth year of Hadrian Caesar the lord the ten (and) a half (and) a third aruras belonging to him near Paeimis, no survey having taken place, so as to sow half annually with wheat and to plant the other half with green crops for pasture, at a fixed annual rent for all the aruras of ninety-one artabas of wheat, free from all risk; and if any land should be uninundated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, the annual public taxes on the land being the responsibility of the lessor, who is also to retain control of the crops until he receives his dues. The lease being confirmed, the lessee is to pay to the lessor the annual fixed rent regularly in the month Payni at the threshing floor of Lenon, in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, free from barley, sieved, as though being measured into the public granary, by the half-artaba measure of Diogenes son of Alexander from Pela, or he is to pay whatever he still owes plus one half. The right of execution is to rest with the lessor both upon the lessee and upon all his property, the lessor having no power to [demand?] extra rent nor to relet to others nor to farm the land himself within the period (of the lease). The lease is binding.

'Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Mesore 22.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Dionysius son of Dionysius, have taken on lease . . .'

3 τοῦ περὶ Πέλα Ληνώνος. The expression is unusual. Both places are known to have belonged to the λιβὸς τοπαρχία, and in the fourth century Ληνῶν belonged to the 4th pagus: see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchiote* (1981) 96–7, 142–5, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 116, and 71 (2001) 294; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 12–13; J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 277, 288–9. In the seventh/eighth century Lenon is attested with the adjective μέγας (P. Leid. Inst. 80A ii 10).

4 εἰς ἔτη ἕξ. The period is exceptionally long; see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 253.

4–5 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόντος δωδεκάτου ἔτους. This is one of the relatively rare leases drawn up before the end of the year previous to that in which the lease took effect; see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 252 n. 140.

6 For Πάειμις, also in the λιβὸς τοπαρχία, see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 130; Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 285. Other leases of land from Pa(c)imis are XIV **1629** (44 BC) and SB X 10263 (205). It occurs along with Lenon and Pela in X **1285** (cf. also XLIX **3462**) and SB XIV 12108; on this last text see Krüger, *op. cit.* 57–8 n. 59.

9 χλωροῖς εἰς βρώσιν. It is not uncommon for leases to state that land is to be planted with χλωρά or χόρτος for grazing. The nearest equivalent to the expression used here is XIV **1686** 9–10, σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ, χόρτω δὲ ἦτοι εἰς βρώσιν ἢ καὶ κοπήν καὶ θερινὴν ἐπινομήν τὸ ἄλλο ἥμισυ; cf. also P. Lips. I 118.12–15 (Oxy.). See Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 21, and Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 44, with 125 n. 30.

9–11 The amount of rent is exceptionally high; see Hombert's note and, for possible explanations, Rowlandson, *op. cit.* 242–3, 251. For all-wheat rent on land sown partly with χόρτος or χλωρά, cf. **4741** 11–12 n.

22 For usc of a measure that is not that of the landlord, see **4740** 37–9 n.

26–9 On these provisions, see (in addition to Hombert) Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 204, 257. For μεταμισθοῦν in particular, see the texts cited in R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 364 n. 39. In P. Mert. II 76.38–9 we should restore οὐκ ἐξόντ[ος] τῷ μεμι[σθωκότι] ἑτέροις μεταμισθοῦν, not μεμι[σθωμένω] (the note to P. Col. X 273.24 is misleading).

27 On this problematic passage, see the commentary in ed. pr.

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4740–4744. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPTS

These five documents are to be added to the customs-house receipts listed, and in several cases given their first edition, in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Zutphen 1987) = P. Customs. For relevant documents published since and further bibliography, see A. Jördens' introduction to P. Louvre I 27–29; add now O. Eleph. Wagner 55–61, and Bodl. MS. Gr. class. g 20 (P) and 14 (P), published by C. E. P. Adams and N. Gonis, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 213–8. Sijpesteijn lists no fewer than 919 items in P. Customs (pp. 102–43), of which nearly 400 are customs-house receipts. Prior to the present texts, only two of the receipts already published had been found at Oxyrhynchus: XII **1439** (P. Customs 8) and **1440** (P. Customs 130); cf. also VI **919** (P. Customs 358).

4740. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT

30 4B.38/E(1–3)b

5.5 × 18 cm

25 August 183
Plate XIV

A narrow piece of papyrus well preserved on all sides, written in a rapid cursive hand. Letters at line-end are frequently extended as filler strokes. A manufacturer's three-layer *kollesis* runs down the middle of the papyrus. The back is blank.

Sarapas, an Oxyrhynchite, pays 88 dr. 4 ob. for the 3% tax on importing ten donkeys and four camels through the customs gate at Dionysias into the Arsinoite nome, these animals to be used for a variety of tasks in connection with a still unidentified activity (see

10 n.). Dionysias was not, of course, on the direct route from Oxyrhynchus to the Arsinoite nome, but the text gives no clue regarding where Sarapas had been or why.

4740 presents several peculiarities. It is unusually tall for this type of document. Most examples are almost square; P. Customs 502, however, is recorded as being even taller at 22.6 cm. It is one of the few receipts connected with the village of Dionysias in the Arsinoite nome. The others (listed in 2 n.) all refer to the export of produce except P. Fay. 68, which refers to the export of camels, and SB XIV 11616, where no indication is given of what is being imported or exported. The broad destination *εἰσάγων εἰς νομὸν Ἀρσινοΐτην* (6–8) is unusual in documents of this kind. The 3% tax (2–3) has its second element written out in full, whereas all other receipts for this tax call it *ρ καὶ ν*. **4740** is the only customs-house receipt to name not only the transporter but also the name of his father and his place of origin (4–6). 16–18 present a late usage of the imperial titulature in this class of text, against dating simply by regnal year number.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλης
 Διονυσιάδος (έκατοστής) καὶ
 πεντηκοστής
 Σαραπάς Παπον-
 5 τῶτο[ς] ἀπὸ Ὁξυρ(ύ)γγ(ων)
 πόλεως εἰσάγων
 εἰς ν[ο]μὸν Ἀρσινο-
 εἴτου πρὸ[ς] πᾶσαν
 ἐργασίαν [ύ]πέρ
 10 .[.] . αγωγου ὄνους
 δέκα καμούλ(ους) τέσ-
 σαρας δραχ(μάς) ὄγ-
 [δ]οήκοντα ὀκ-
 τῶ τετρώβολ(ον).
 15 (ἔτους) τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ
 Μάρκου Ἀύρηλίου
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρ]ίου,
 [Μεσορ]ῆ ἐπ[αγο]μέ(νων) β.

1 τετε^λ 2 ρ^ν 5 οξυργ^κ 7–8 l. Ἀρσινοΐτην 11 καμου^λ l. καμήλου 12 δρα^κ
 14 τετρωβο^λ 15 L 19 επαγομε^ν

‘Paid through the gate of Dionysias for the 1% and two-per-cent tax by Sarapas son of Papontos from the

city of the Oxyrhynchi, importing ten donkeys and four camels into the Arsinoite nome for all manner of work on account of . . . , eighty-eight drachmas four obols.

'Year twenty-third of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore, 2nd intercalary day.'

2 Διονυσιάδος. See A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario geografico* ii 107–10; Suppl. i 96, ii 44, 31–2, iii 31–2; E. Bernand, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques du Fayoum II: La 'Mérís' de Thémistos* 119–28. According to J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Qasr-Qárin / Dionysias* 1948 6, 'il n'est plus possible de dire où était l'entrée principale de la ville'. There was a route towards the Small Oasis from Dionysias, and camels were exported through Dionysias to the Small Oasis (cf. P. Customs p. 48, and P. Fay. 68 = P. Customs 228); likewise ὄσπρεα, BGU XIII 2308 = P. Customs 327.

Other references to this customs post in the papyri are to be found in BGU XI 2029 (P. Customs 238), P. Customs 466, 467, 469, 470, 475; SB V 7822 (P. Customs 468), XIV 11616 and 12135 (in this last document reference is made to ἐπιτηρηταὶ πύλης Διονυσιάδος; cf. P. Customs p. 95). Most of the evidence concerns exports; see P. Customs pp. 46–7.

2–3 For the 3% tax, see P. Customs pp. 23–5; W. Clarysse, P. Thomas 3 introd.

4–6 The persons who imported or exported goods were in most cases indicated with one name only. There are 11 examples where the name of the father is given (see P. Customs, p. 29 n.11), and two examples where the place of origin is mentioned but not the patronymic (P. Customs 451.2–3 and 452.2–3). This is the only example of a customs-house receipt where both patronymic and place of origin are stated. Sijpesteijn proposed that it may be because the officials of the customs stations knew the transporters and mentioned their father's name only when the transporter was not so well-known. There are also examples where they could abbreviate even the name of the transporter if they knew him very well.

7–8 εἰς ν[ο]μὸν Ἀρσινοείτου. Only occasionally is it stated from where the goods had come or to where they were being transported; see P. Customs p. 41. For examples see P. Grenf. II 50b (P. Customs 197), P. Fay. 68 (P. Customs 228), and BGU XIII 2326 (P. Customs 239–256), and especially BGU III 697 (P. Customs 200) παρεκόμεν . . . εἰς Ἀρσινούτην.

8–9 πρὸ[ς] πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν. Unparalleled. This expression takes the place of the usual note of what goods were being carried. πρὸς ἀπεργασίαν is attested five times in the customs-house documents: P. Customs 194, P. Mert. I 20 (P. Customs 303), P. Customs 378, 382 and BGU XIII 2327.5 (P. Customs 671).

10 .[.] . . αγωγῶν. A horizontal links to α, c preferable to τ. The initial trace and space do not seem as if they will allow εἰσαγωγῶν. [ὕ]περ in 9 might seem doubtful, since ε is more easily read as α, but for epsilon in this shape cf. e.g. 15.

12–14 88 dr. 4 ob. is a large amount to be paid when unladen animals are moved. At a flat rate for each animal, the tax would have been 6 dr. 2 ob. The same level is found in P. Customs 893, where 6 dr. 2 ob. is paid for one donkey. (This is a quite different situation from laden animals, where camels were rated at twice the donkey rate because they could carry double.) See P. Customs p. 76. We do not have any other clear information regarding how much tax was paid when donkeys were brought for work. Higher rates still are attested in P. Wisc. II 80.148 (P. Customs 107), where for 5 donkeys the tax is 66 dr. 4 ob., and P. Wisc. II 80.103 (P. Customs 76), for two horses 26 dr. 2 ob.

15–18 Sijpesteijn, P. Customs p. 71, quotes P. Grenf. II 50c (P. Customs 275) of 26 December 179 as the latest example of a receipt in which the imperial titles are written out in full. **4740** is nearly four years later than this. Sijpesteijn also says that 'in P. Alex.Giss. p. 23, J. Schwartz correctly observed that beginning with the sole reign of Commodus (17 March 180) the scribes no longer wrote the titles of the reigning emperor(s) on the customhouse receipts . . . , but satisfied themselves with only giving the number of the year of a certain reign'. However, Schwartz was explicitly referring to customs receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos, so that his observation is not invalidated by **4740**.

4741–4744. FOUR CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPTS

These four documents enlarge the small number of receipts issued from the customs-house of Tebtunis, which, with only eight documents (seven papyri, P. Tcbt. II 461, 557, 565, P. Yale I 75–6, SB XII 10950–1 [= P. Customs 381, 387, 20, 260–1, 399–400], and one ostrakon, O.Tebt.Pad. 65 [= P. Customs 312]), is still under-represented in comparison with the 176 receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos, the 51 from Philadelphia or the 40 from Bakchias.

All the customs receipts presented here were written by the same scribe for the same transporter Thonis, who apparently went through the customs post on Mesore 7 (**4741–2**) and 9 (**4743–4**), respectively 31 July and 2 August, each time carrying the same kind of goods loaded on the same number of animals. At each of his passages through the customs, he paid two customs dues: in **4741** and **4743** the tax for the protection of the desert routes (*ἴχνους ἐρημοφυλακία*) and in **4742** and **4744** the 3% tax (*ρ καὶ ν*); see P. Customs pp. 21–2, 23–5. We are, therefore, dealing with two series of double receipts: see P. Customs pp. 19–20, with a list of published double receipts on p. 19 n. 21. Note that two series of double customs receipts already came from the customs-house of Tebtunis: P. Yale I 75–6 and SB XII 10950–1.

As a loaded donkey could travel between 40 and 50 km a day (see O. M. Pearl, 'Varia Papyrologica', *TAPhA* 71 (1940) 377 n. 14), and as Thonis passed through the customs for the first time on 31 July, reached his destination, delivered or sold his cargo, returned to his point of departure, loaded a new cargo, and passed again through the customs before the end of 2 August, the distance between his point of departure and his destination must have been relatively short. (This means that at least on his first trip Thonis' destination cannot have been Oxyrhynchus, since the straight-line distance from Tebtunis to Oxyrhynchus is c.60 km.) We may wonder how it came about that all four receipts should be discovered in a rubbish dump at Oxyrhynchus. The likely solution is that Thonis was an Oxyrhynchite (cf. **4741** 3 n.), probably a trader, who was exporting goods through the gate at Tebtunis.

All four receipts concern the transportation of the same product, which appears to be new, though reading and interpretation are difficult; see below, **4741** 4–5 n.

The script suggests we should place these four documents in the late second or early third century. At Soknopaiou Nesos scribes dated such receipts by regnal years only without imperial titles from the beginning of the reign of Commodus (see J. Schwartz, P. Alex. Giss. p. 23; cf. **4740** 15–18 n.). If the same were true at Tebtunis, this would support the dating suggested by the script. The latest other attestations for the *ἴχνους ἐρημοφυλακία* and the *ρ καὶ ν* date to 212 and 211 respectively (cf. P. Customs p. 21; p. 23 n. 43). The combination of days in July and August with a 'year 1' restricts the possible dates around this time to 193 (Pescennius Niger), 217 (Macrinus), and 222 (Severus Alexander), although one cannot strictly exclude Elagabalus (218); see D. W. Rathbone, 'The Dates of the Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus', *ZPE* 62 (1986) 107.

The pattern of damage in **4741–2** suggests that they had been kept superimposed;

the same may apply to the more damaged **4743–4**. It seems likely that the four items were cut from a single vertical strip of papyrus (cf. their uniform width), although we have not established which was contiguous with which. **4742** looks as if it had been turned upside down before the receipt was written. There are scanty cursive remains across the fibres on the back (**4743**), probably line-ends from an account, with a clear ζ' on the back of **4741**. Since the account must have been written before the strip was cut up for the customs receipts, and further since we may suppose that the account was written on the back of an already used piece, it follows that the strip reused for the customs texts was cut from a blank marginal area (the left margin?) of the original text on the front.

4741. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT

96/20(a)

3.7 × 5.7 cm

31 July 193, 217 or 222?
Plate IV

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Τεπτύ-
 νεως ἴχνους ἔρη(μοφυλακίας)
 Θῶνις ἐξάγων
 χύνοϋς κανο-
 5 πλοκικὴν ὄνους
 δέκα. (ἔτους) α^ϝ Μεε[ο]ρη
 ἐβδ[ό]μη, ζ⁻.
 χω(ρίε) χαρ(ακτῆρος).

1 τετε^λ πύ^λ 2 ερη̄ 4 l. χοίνους 6 L 8 χ^ω? χαρ^δ

'Paid through the gate of Tebtunis for the tax for the protection of the desert route by Thonis, exporting reeds for basket-weaving (?), ten donkey-loads. Year 1, Mesore seventh, 7th. Without seal.'

3 Θῶνις. There is an extra loop at the end of omega, but a reading Θεῶνις seems less likely, since there is no apparent attempt to make an omicron. Th(o)onis is an Egyptian theophoric name frequently attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome, where the god Thonis, who represented Horus in his aspect as the falcon-god, had a cult attested; see L **3592** 3 n., and J. Whitehorne, 'The Pagan Cults of Roman Oxyrhynchus', ANRW II.18.5 (1995) 3083.

3–6 The construction juxtaposing in the accusative the product transported and the animal on whose back the transport takes place is seldom used; see the fourth construction mentioned by B. Boyaval, 'Les formulaires d'import-export (reçus de douane)', CE 53 (1978) 348–9 and the formulae '2b)' and 'ad 2b)' of P. Customs pp. 55–6.

4–5 χύνοϋς κανοπλοκικὴν. It would be at least as easy, in all four texts, to read χυνοξεικανοπλοκικ-. Presumably this would have to be taken as a single word formed from χυνο- (χοίνος) + εικανο- (ικανός) + πλοκικ-, with the meaning 'suitable for twisting into ropes', the noun to go with it being understood. This might have been the plant in question: Strabo 3.4.9 (see also Eust. II. [ed. van der Valk] p. 293, l. 26) uses the compound χοινοπλοκική to describe the plant he calls ἡ σπάρτος. But a compound composed of three elements in this way seems too far-fetched to appear in a documentary papyrus. The only alternative, though not wholly satisfactory, would seem to be the one adopted in the texts, namely to divide into two words. For the reading -υς in χύνοϋς, cf. the ending of

ὄνου. This too involves supposing a new compound, of which the first element presumably comes from *κάνεον/κανοῦν*, 'basket', or *κάννα*, 'reed'; the former is attested in the form *κανᾶ* in PSI IV 428.42 (iii BC). For comparable compounds cf. *κυ[ρ]τοπλόκιον* in XXXIV 2719 11 (iii), and *κιτοπλόκιον* in SB XIV 11978.48 (c.187), referring to basket-weavers' shops. *κανοπλόκος* is quoted by Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, from Ephr. 2.176B, also with the meaning of 'basket-weaver'.

Whatever solution is adopted, the ending of the word is puzzling. In 4741 it ends *-πλοκικήν*, in 4743 5 and 4744 5 *-πλοκικῶν*, and in 4742 the ending has apparently not been supplied. None suggests any straightforward grammatical construction.

8 On the notation *χωρὶς χαρακτήρος* at the end of customs receipts, see P. Customs pp. 8 and 14.

4742. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT

96/20(b)

3.7 × 5.7 cm

31 July 193, 217 or 222?
Plate IV

[τετ]ελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Τεπτύνεωσ

[ρ]ϛ̣ καὶ ν̣ϛ̣ Θῶνις

ἐξάγων χύνοϛ

κανοπλοκικ()

5 ὄνουσ δέκα.

(ἔτουσ) α̣ = Μεσορή

ἐβδόμη, ζ̣.

χω(ρὶς) χα(ρακτῆροσ).

1 [τετ]ε^λ π^υ 3 1. χ^οίνουσ 6 L 8 χ^ω? χαρ^{ϛ̣}

'Paid through the gate of Tebtunis for the 1% + 2% tax by Thonis, exporting reeds for basket-weaving (?), ten donkey-loads. Year 1, Mesore seventh, 7th. Without seal.'

2 [ρ]ϛ̣ καὶ ν̣ϛ̣. For the different markers possible after ρ and ν, see P. Customs p. 23 n. 41.

4 The expansion of the unmarked abbreviation is uncertain, the other three texts of this group offering *-κήν* and apparently *-κῶν*. Note that the sequence *κι* is oddly written; cf. 4741 4-5 n.

4743. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT

96/20(c)

3.7 × 4.7 cm

2 August 193, 217 or 222?
Plate V

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Τεπτύ-

νεωσ ἴχνοϛ ἐρη(μοφυλακίας)

Θῶνις ἐξάγων

χύνοϛ κανο-

5 πλοκικῶν ὄνουσ

δέκα. (ἔτους) α^ϖ Μεσο-
 ρ[ῆ] ἐνάτη, θ⁻.
 [χω(ρὶς)] χα[ρ](ακτῆρος).

1 τετε^λ πυ^λ 2 ερῆ 4 l. cχοίους 6 L 8 χα[ρ]ῆ

'Paid through the gate of Tebtunis for the tax for the protection of the desert route by Thonis, exporting reeds for basket-weaving (?), ten donkey-loads. Year 1, Mesore ninth, 9th. Without seal.'

4744. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT

96/20(d)

3.7 × 4.1 cm

2 August 193, 217 or 222?
Plate V

[τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Τεπ]τύ-
 [νε]ω[ρ]ῆ κ[αὶ ν]ῆ
 Θῶνις ἐξάγων
 cχύνοϋς κανο-
 5 πλοκικῶν ὄνουc
 δέκα. (ἔτους) α^ϖ Με[σο]ρῆ
 [ἐν]άτη, θ⁻.
 [χω(ρὶς) χαρ](ακτῆρος).

4-5 l. cχοίους 6 L 8]ῆ

'Paid through the gate of Tebtunis for the 1% + 2% tax by Thonis, exporting reeds for basket-weaving (?), ten donkey-loads. Year 1, Mesore ninth, 9th. Without seal.'

M. COTTIER

4745. LEASE OF LAND

31 4B.13/J(1-2)a

6.5 × 31.5 cm

29 September/17 October 202

This is a lease of a single arura situated near Seryphis for a two-year period, with the usual provision for crop-rotation. It is complete, except for some damage in lines 10-13. It is almost certain that the subscription is written in the same hand as the body of the contract. It is the fast, practised cursive of a professional scribe. The back is blank.

The lease is in the subjective 'private protocol' format, which was standard in Oxyrhynchite leases at this period; on it see Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 12, 22-3, H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii (München 1978) 122-7. None of the various clauses in 4745 differs significantly from the norm for leases from the Oxyrhynchite. The lessors may already be known: see 1 n. The rental is high: see 13-15 n. and 16-18 n.

ἐμίσθωσαν Πλουτίων Πλου-
 τίωνος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάν-
 τες ἀπ' Ὀξύρχων πόλεως
 Ἀπολιναρίῳ Πλουτογένουσι
 5 καὶ Γαίῳ Παήσιος ἀμφοτέροις
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἔτη
 δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἰα (ἔτους)
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς
 περὶ Cέρυφιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμμωνᾶ
 10 κλήρου ἄρουραν μίαν ὧ[στε
 τοὺς μεμισθωμένους τ[ῶ μὲν
 ἐνεστώτι ἰα (ἔτει) ξυλαμ[ῆσαι
 χλωροῖς φόρου ἀποτάκ[του
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἐξήκον-
 15 τα τεσσάρων, τῶ δὲ ἰσιόντι
 ἰβ (ἔτει) σπείραι πυρῶ ἐκφορίου
 ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν [[οκτ]]
 ὀκτῶ ἀκίνδυνα πάντα
 παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς
 20 γῆς κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄν-
 των πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωκό-
 τας οὐς καὶ κυριεύσῃ τῶν
 καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος
 ὀφειλόμενα κομίσωνται.
 25 ἔὰν δέ τις τῶ ἰσιόντι ἔτει
 ἄβροχος γένηται παραδε-
 χθήσεται τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις.
 βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μι-
 σθώσεως ἀποδότῃσαν οἱ μεμι-
 30 σθωμένοι τοῖς μεμισθωκόσι
 τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμενα μη-
 νὶ Παῦνι τὸν δὲ πυρὸν τοῦ ἰσιόν-
 τος ἰβ (ἔτους) ἐφ' ἄλλω Cερύφειως
 {πυρὸν} νέον καθαρὸν ἄδο-
 35 λον ἄβωλον ἄκριθον κεκοσκι-

νευμένον ὡς εἰς δημόσιον
 μετρο[ύμ]ενον μέτρῳ τετρα-
 χοινίγκῳ παραλημπτι-
 κῷ Καππαράτος, τῶν παρὰ
 40 τῶν μεμισθοκότων ἑαυ-
 τοῖς μετρούντων, καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-
 ξις ἔστω ἕκ τε τῶν μεμισθω-
 μένων ἀλληλεγγύων ὄν-
 των εἰς ἔκτεισιν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς
 45 καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἕαν αὐτῶν αἰρῶνται
 καὶ ἕκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς
 πάντων. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις.
 (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων
 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 50 Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλ(ίου)
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν
 [[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα
 Καίσαρος Σεβα]]στοῦ, Φαῶφι κ.
 55 Ἀπολινάρις Πλουτογένους
 καὶ Γάιος Παήσιος μεμισθώ-
 μεθα τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἀλληλεγ-
 γύης ὡς πρόκειται. Πασίων
 Παήσιος τοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώρου ἔγρα-
 60 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν μὴ] εἰδότηων
 γράμματα.

5 γαιῶ 7, 12, 16, 33, 48 L 15 l. εἰσιόντι 21 τοὺς corr. from τοῖς 22 l. κυριεύειν? (see n.)
 25 l. εἰσιόντι 32-3 ἴσιοντος, l. εἰσιόντος 38 -χοινιγ'κω; l. -χοινίκω 40 l. μεμισθωκότων
 43 ἀλληλεγγύων 44 l. ἔκτεισιν 51 αυρη^λ 55 l. Ἀπολινάριος 56 l. Γάιος

Plution son of Plution and his siblings, all from the city of Oxyrhynchus, leased to Apolinarius son of Plu-
 togenes and to Gaius son of Paesis, both from the same city, for two years from the present 11th year, from their
 possessions in the area of Seryphis from the allotment of Ammonas, one arura, for the lessees to plant with green
 crops in the present 11th year at a fixed rent of sixty-four silver drachmas, and to sow with wheat in the coming
 12th year at a fixed rent of eight artabas of wheat, all free from any risk. The annual public taxes on the land are
 the responsibility of the lessors, who will also retain control of the crops until they receive the amounts owed each

year. If any land should be uninundated in the coming year, allowance will be made to the lessees. The lease being confirmed, the lessees are to pay the lessors the annual dues in the month of Payni, and the wheat for the coming 12th year at the threshing-floor of Seryphis, it being new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth, free from barley, sieved, as though being measured into the public granary, by the four-choenix receiving measure of Capparas, the measuring to be done for themselves by the lessors' agents; and the right of execution is to be against the lessees, who guarantee each other mutually for payment, or against one of them or against whichever of them they [the lessors] choose, and against all their property. The lease is binding. Year 11 of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 20(?).

'We, Apolinarius son of Plutogenes and Gaius son of Paesis, have taken the land on lease on our mutual guarantee as aforesaid. I, Pasion son of Paesis alias Isidorus, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

1 Πλουτίων Πλουτίωνος. He may well be the same person as the Πλουτίων Πλουτίωνος τοῦ Πλουτίωνος μητρ(ρ)ός Ταψόιτος who submits a census return, XII **1548**, in this same year (202/3). This Plution records the ownership jointly with his unnamed siblings of two female slaves. Another Plution from Oxyrhynchus, also son and grandson of Plution but with a different mother (Thaesis), is attested in P. Mil. II 51 (2nd cent.).

9 περὶ Cέρυφιν. A well-known village in the Western toparchy: see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 171–3; LV **3795** 13 n. According to Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 18, it was the largest village in the nome. Other land-leases from Seryphis are PSI X 1097 (54/3 BC), IX 1029 (52/3), VII 739 (163), P. Harr. I 137 (II) and **4747** (296).

9–10 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμμωνῆ κλήρου. Otherwise attested only in XIV **1743** 5; see P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 168. Its location near Seryphis is new information.

13–15 A rent of 64 drachmas for a single arura is exceptionally high (see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 250 (fig. 5); Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne* 172–3), exceeding even the 60 drachmas found in P. Fouad 43 (190) and BGU XIII 2340 (early III), both Oxyrhynchite; see also L **3589** 5–9 n.

16–18 The rental in wheat, at 8 artabas for a single arura, though on the high side, is within the attested range (Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 249 (fig. 4), 250 n. 134).

22 οὐς καὶ κυριεύωσι. The standard phrase in Oxyrhynchite leases is οὐς καὶ κυριεύειν, which is probably what the writer intended here. The alternative would be to correct to οἱ καὶ κυριεύουσι; cf. P. Köln III 149, 20–1 οὐς κέ κυριεύουσιν (Oxy.; early III), and see the editor's note.

29ff. For the contrast in the payment clause between τὰ ὀφειλόμενα (= dues in both cash and kind) and τὸν πυρόν, see especially L **3592** 25 ff. and P. Wisc. I 7.29 ff. (= P. Choix 21). These parallels make it clear that the repetition of πυρόν in line 34 is simply a mistake.

37–8 τετραχοινίγκω. For the insertion of the nasal, cf. XLIX **3488** 47–8, μέτρο τετρακυ[ν]ίνκω, and XLIV **3163** 21–2, χοίνιγκες ὀκτώ; see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 118.

37–9 It is usual for a reference to the lessor or for his name to occur at this point. In **4739** 22–3, however, we have μέτρω ἡμιαρταβίω Διογένουσι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ Πέλα, which, as here, specifies repayment by the measure of a person who has not previously been named in the text. XXXIII **2676** 31–3, for example, is similar; cf. also XLIX **3489** 32, with the editor's note. Generally on the specifying of particular measures see Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 103–5, Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 13–21.

39 Καππαράτος. The name may have occurred in P. Leipz. 11.8 Δίδυμος Καππάρας; cf. also the name Καπ(π)αρίς in e.g. P. Corn. 30.a.1, P. Köln II 122.6, P. Mich. IV 224.3225, 225.2742, 359F.2 (perhaps not necessarily always a proper name: see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 28 (1991) 66).

39–41 τῶν παρὰ τῶν μεμισθοκότων ἑαυτοῖς μετρούντων. The same phrase occurs in P. Fouad 43.50–1 and PSI V 468.26–7; cf. also XXII **2351** 49–50, PSI VI 702.5–6 (all Oxyrhynchite) and Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 105.

53 Cεβα||στοῦ. The writer certainly intended to delete the whole of this word but has failed to do so.

54 Φαῶφι κ. It is also possible to read Φαῶφι β.

59 Α Πάησις ὁ καὶ Ἰδίδωρος occurs in the Oxyrhynchite P. Oslo III 114, but the text is assigned to the first/second centuries by the editors.

†D. MONTSERRAT

4746. SALE OF A DONKEY

71/28 (d)

7 × 10.2 cm

244-9
Plate XIV

Although only the close of the subscription of the original document, a sale of a female donkey, has survived, the text is nonetheless of interest for the occurrence of an *equus imaginifer* of the *ala Apriana Philippianorum*. This cavalry regiment is well attested in the papyri, but its description as *Φιλιππιανῶν*, in honour of the emperor Philip the Arab and his young son and co-emperor Philip, is new. Some twenty years later we find the same unit named after the emperor Claudius II Gothicus: *εἴλης Ἀπριανῆς Κλαυδιανῆς* (SPP XX 71.2, of 269/70).

On donkey sales, see the literature assembled in P. Bingen 61 introd. For a list of donkey sales and prices, see N. Litinas, *ZPE* 124 (1999) 199–204, updated at http://www.philology.uoc.gr/ref/Sales_of_Donkeys. See also 4748–52.

The back is blank.

· · ·
πέπ]ρ[ακ]α [τ]ήν ὄνον
καὶ ἀπέσχον τήν τι-
μὴν καὶ βεβαιώσω
ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) καὶ ἔπερω-
5 τηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα.
Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀμμων
ἵππευς ἱμαγν[ι]ειφερ
εἴλης Ἀπριανῆς
Φιλιππιανῶν
10 ἔγρ](αψα) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
c.4 μ]ῆ εἰτόδ(οc) γρ(άμματα).

4 προ^κ 7 ἵμα-; l. ἱμαγίνιφερ 8 l. ἴλης 10 [εγρ]ῆ 11 εἰτο^δ; l. εἰδότοc γρῆ

‘. . . I have sold the donkey and received the price and shall guarantee (it) as aforesaid, and in reply to the formal question I consented.

‘I, Titus Aelius Ammon, *equus imaginifer* of the *ala Apriana Philippianorum*, wrote on his behalf . . . for he does not know letters.’

6 A Titus Aelius Ammon has not been recorded previously.

7 ἵππευς ἱμαγν[ι]ειφερ. The collocation is new in the papyri, but cf. the inscriptional examples of *equus imaginifer* in *TLL* s.v. *imaginifer*. On *imaginiferi*, see in general A. v. Domaszewski (and B. Dobson), *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1967²) 55–6; also L 3571 14 n. The few papyrus references are collected by S. Daris, *Il lessico latino del greco d’Egitto* (1991²) s.v.

The fact that the subscriber is a cavalryman might suggest that the buyer of the donkey was another soldier; cf. the third-century P. Lond. III 1128 (ed. N. Litinas, *ZPE* 124 (1999) 195–8), in which the buyer is a soldier of the *legio III Augusta*.

8 εἴλης Ἀπριανῆς. On this *ala*, see the literature cited in P. Col. VIII 234.7 n., and J. E. H. Spaul, *Ala* (1994²) 29–30; generally, see S. Daris, ‘Le truppe ausiliarie romane in Egitto’, *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 743–66.

9 Φιλιππιανῶν. See introd. The plural shows that the object of the name of the *ala* was to do honour to both Philippi, father and son; cf. SB I 5467.17, v2 (ἔτους) β Φιλιππιανῶ[ν]. Another Egyptian military unit renamed in honour of the same emperor(s) was the *legio II Traiana Fortis*; see P. Rain.Cent. 69.7–8 (248) λεγιῶνος δε[ν]τέρας [ε Τραιανῆς] Γερμανικῆς Ἰχυράς Φιλιππια[νῆς] (but Φιλιππια[νῶν] may also be considered). In XLIII 3111 6 (257) the same legion is called Οὐαλερι(αν)ῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνῆς; Οὐαλερι(αν)ῶν may now be paralleled by Φιλιππιανῶν. Other cavalry units named after Philip include the *ala nova firma cataphractaria Philippiana*, created in Philip’s reign (see M. P. Speidel, ‘The Roman Army in Arabia’, *ANRW* II.8 (1977) 702–5 = *Roman Army Studies* i (1984) 244–7), and the *ala Celerum Philippiana* (see Speidel, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 217–20). Cf. also the various *cohortes praetoriae Philippianae*, attested in CIL XVI 149, 151, 153, and in (the Greek) IK Ephesos 737, a honorary inscription for a tribune of the 10th cohort πραιτωρίας Φιλιππιανῆς. On regimental dynastic titles, see generally J. Fitz, *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the 3rd Century* (1983); for the papyrological attestations, see F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII p. 76 n. 3.

It should perhaps be specified that the date range of the text is defined by the elevation of Philip Junior to the rank of Caesar, and the earliest Egyptian dating to the emperor Decius.

11 At the start of the line it is tempting to restore *παρόντος*, even if the formulation *ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρόντος* has not otherwise occurred before the fourth century.

N. GONIS

4747. LEASE OF LAND

44 5B.62/C(7–8)a

11 × 29 cm

26 October 296

Like **4745**, this papyrus relates to land near Seryphis. It records the renewal of a lease of 6 1/8 aruras for a period of two years. Each year one half of the plot is to be sown with wheat and the other half with fodder crops, the rent for the whole plot being paid in wheat. The lease is written in the ‘private protocol’ format (see **4745** introd.), but is noticeable for the way the text vacillates from line 9 onwards between the normal, objective style and the subjective style used in the *epidoche* format; cf. e.g. XLV **3259–60**. There are also several small errors in the drafting: see 11 n., 14, 16 n. The lease omits the *ἄβροχος*-clause, as is normal by this date (Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 162; the latest example in Rowlandson’s list is XIV **1689** of 266).

The papyrus is complete and the back is blank. The pattern of the worm holes suggests that the papyrus was rolled up from the right and stored as a small roll; cf. the introductions to L **3560**, **3591–2**.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ

σεβαστοῦ τὸ ξ καὶ Κωνσταντίου Καίσαρος τὸ β^{II}.

ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλία Ἀμμωνίλλα Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυ-
σίου γυμνασιάρχης[α]ντος γενομένου βουλευτοῦ τῆς

5 λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω

Παῆσι Ἑρακλάτος μη(τρὸς) Τααμοίτος ἀπὸ κώμης Κερ-
 κεθύρεως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους) [τ]ὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῇ περὶ Cέρυφιν
 τὰς προγεωργουμένας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀρούρας ἕξ ὄγδοον
 10 ὥστε ἐπίραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι κατ' ἔτος πυρῶ χόρτω ἕξ
 ἡμισίας ἐκφορίων κατ' ἔτος ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρτα-
 βῶν εἴκοσι ἀκινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν
 τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὴν γεούχον κυρι-
 εύ(ου)σαν τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀπολάβη(ς). βε-
 15 βαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀποδότω ὁ μεμι-
 θωμένος τὸ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτον {φόρον} τῷ Παῦνι
 μῆνι ἕξ' ἄλλω τῆς κώμης πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν
 ἄδολ[ο]ν [ἄ]βωλον ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευμένον, μέ{τ}-
 τρω παραλημπτικῶ σοῦ τῆς γεούχου, προσμετρου-
 20 μένων ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη χυνίκων δύο, γεινομένης
 τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τοῦ μεμισθωμένου ὡς καθήκει. κυ-
 ρία ἢ μίσθωσις περὶ ἧς ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτήσαντες
 [ἀλλή]λο[ι]ς ὡμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ιγς καὶ ιβς τῶν κυρίων
 [ἡ]μ[ῶ]ν [Διοκλητι]ανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ[αστ]ῶν
 25 καὶ ε[ς] τῶ]ν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταν[τ]ί[ο]υ καὶ
 Μαξι[μι]ανοῦ ἐ[π]ιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων Σεβαστῶν,
 Φαῶφι κθ. (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Πάησις μεμίσθωμαι τῆ(ν)
 γῆν καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια ὡς
 πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολ[ό]γησα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σαραπάμ-
 30 μων ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότο(ς) γράμματα.

1 ὑπατων	5 λαμδ bis	1. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν	6 1. Παῆσει μη?	8 ιγς και βς και εδ ὑπαρχουσας
10 1. σπεῖραι	11 1. ἡμισείας	1. ἐκφορίου? see note	14 1. ὀφειλόμενα	20 1. χυνίκων 1. γεινομένης
21 1. καθήκει	23 L	27 πῆ	29 1. πρόκειται	1. ἐπερωτηθείς αὐρ' 30 υ' εἰδοτ°

Under the consuls our lords Diocletian Augustus for the 6th time and Constantius Caesar for the 2nd time.

Aurelia Ammonilla, daughter of Dionysius son of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch and former councillor of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, leased to Aurelius Paesis son of Heraclas, mother Taamois, from the village of Cercethyris, for a period of two years from the present 13th and 12th and 5th year, the six and one-eighth aruras belonging to her near Seryphis which were previously cultivated by me, to sow and to plant annually with wheat (and) fodder crops half and half at a fixed annual rent in wheat of twenty artabas, free from all risk, the taxes on the land being the responsibility of you the landowner, retaining control of the crops until you recover the amounts owed. The lease being confirmed, the lessee is to pay the annual fixed rent in the month Payni at the threshing-floor of the village, in new, pure, unadulterated wheat, free from earth, free from

barley, sieved, by the collecting measure of you the landowner, with two choenices added to each artaba, the right of execution lying against the lessee, and so on. The lease is binding, concerning which the parties put the formal question to each other and gave assent to each other. Year 13 and 12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximian most noble Caesars Augusti, Phaophi 29.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Paesis, have taken the land on lease and I shall pay the rent in cash and in kind as aforesaid and on being asked the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.’

1–2 On the consuls, see *CLRE* 126–7 and *CSBE*² 173.

3 *Ἀρρηλία Ἀμμωνίλλα*. There is no particular reason to identify her with the Ammonilla attested in XIV **1714** (285–304?). For women as landowners in the Oxyrhynchite, see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 112–15, 263–4, 284.

3–5 Several persons by the name of Dionysius are known to have been gymnasiarchs in third-century Oxyrhynchus—see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* (Zutphen 1986)—but all have aliases and there are no good grounds for identifying any of them with the man in **4747**. A *βουλευτής* of this name is attested in XLIV **3171** 9 (225 or later; see BL VIII 266). Our man was presumably dead by the date of **4747**; see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 239–44, on *γενόμενος βουλευτής*.

6–7 Cercethyris is a neighbouring village to Seryphis (8) in the Western toparchy: see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 79–80; Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* 274; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 12.

8 *περὶ Cέρυφιν*. See **4745** 9 n.

9 On renewal of leases, see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 254.

9ff. On the switch to the subjective format, see the introd.

11 *ἐκφορίων κατ’ ἔτος ἀποτάκτου*. Although the plural *ἐκφόρια* is not infrequently used (as here in line 28), there is no example of *ἐκφορίων ἀποτάκτων*; presumably the writer intended the normal *ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου*.

11–12 On all-in wheat rent when the land was subject to crop rotation, see Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 4 with 102 n. 6; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 40–3. On the amount of rent, see 19–20 n.

13–14 *κυριεί(ου)σαν*. The same haplography in LXI **4121** 14–15; cf. also LXVII **4595** 25 n.

16 From the fourth century it is common for rent in kind to be called *φόρος*, and there are some earlier examples (Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 99–100; Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 102 n. 1); cf. below, 28 n. However, a number of Oxyrhynchite leases use *ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ* to describe the rent, but go on to state that payment is to be made of *τὸ ἀπότακτον*, e.g. PSI VII 739, P. Palau Rib. 7. It is probable that that is what was intended here and that we should delete *φόρον* rather than correct *τό* to *τόν*.

19–20 *προσμετρομένων ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη χυνίκων δύο*. This phrase is unusual and is only found in three other leases, all Oxyrhynchite: SB VIII 9919.10, *προσμετρομ(ένων) ἐκάστη ἀρτάβ(η)*—not *ἐκάστη(ς) ἀρτάβ(ης)*—*χυνίκ(ων) τεσσαρά(ν)*, which in this text is added as an after-thought after the *κυρία*-clause; **4753** 23–5, which also has an amount of 4 choenices; and XLVII **3354** 42–3, where, after *μέτρῳ παραλημπτικῶ σοῦ τοῦ γεούχου*, we have a slightly fuller phrase in the active, *τῶ[ν] σῶν με]τρούντων καὶ προσμετρούντων ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη χυνίκας δύο*. Also relevant is a loan of cereals from the Oxyrhynchite, P. Strasb. VI 588.6–9, where the phrase *προσμετρ[ο]ντός μοι (I, μου) ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη ἀντὶ δ[ι]αφόρου {ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη} τοῦ γένους ἀρτά[β]ης τρίτον* is added. In this case the addition is explicitly stated to be the equivalent of interest on the loan. Why the extra payment in the leases should be expressed in this way, and not simply added to the rent due, is unclear. It presumably has nothing to do with the surtax on taxes in kind, often called *τὰ προσμετρούμενα* (see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 38–41; G. M. Parássoglou, *Stud. Pap.* 14 (1975) 92–3). The additional amount in **4747** is 1/20th, if we assume the usual artaba of 40 choenices, making the annual rent in effect 21 rather than 20 artabas. Such an amount for 6 1/8 aruras is on the low side but within the attested range: see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 249 (fig. 4).

21 *ὡς καθήκει*. In effect this means *καὶ τὰ λοιπά*: see XXXI **2585** 18–19 with notes; also Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 150 (where correct *γενομένης* to *γυνομένης*), but note that this expression is now attested as early as AD 243 (L **3595** 40).

21–3 *κυρία . . . ὠμολόγησαν*. The same wording in VII **1036** 34–7; cf. XXXVIII **2859** 26–7.

27–30 The same Aurelius Sarapammon wrote for an illiterate in SB VIII 9833.17–24 (299), as is clear from the plate in the original publication as P. Corn. 45 (note in particular the rather unusual omega). In SB 9833.23–4 the reading given is *ἔγραψα ὑ(πέρ) αὐτῶν [παρόν]των ἀγ[ρα]μμάταον* (l. *ἀγραμμάτων*); this would be an early example of the phrase, not found elsewhere before the mid 4th century and in any case rare at Oxyrhynchus. **4747** suggests that a better reading would be *ἔγραψα ὑ(πέρ) αὐτῶν [μὴ εἰδόν]των γράμματα* (Traianos Gagos, who has been kind enough to check the original, thinks this a more probable reading; he adds that in *αὐτῶν* omega is corrected from omicron); but there is a clear *ον* after this. Did the writer begin to write *ὄντων* as though he thought he had written *ὑπέρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων*? There is no sign of deletion.

28 *τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια*. The most probable explanation is that Sarapammon automatically wrote the standard subscription without referring to the actual provisions of the text, where there is no rent in cash (*φόρος*); cf. 16 n.

†D. MONTSERRAT

4748. SALE OF A DONKEY

32 4B.4/A(1–2)a

9.3 × 25 cm

12 February 307

In a contract of *χειρόγραφον*-form Aurelius Ophelius, from the village Isieion Kato in the Oxyrhynchite nome, acknowledges that he has sold a young donkey to Aurelius Theodorus, from Oxyrhynchus, for 5 talents 1000 drachmas. The donkey is described as male in the body of the contract, but as female in Ophelius' subscription.

4748, together with **4750** (307) and **4752** (311), and probably **4749** (307), forms part of a group of sales made to persons from Oxyrhynchus at the market in the Upper Cynopolite nome. Documents in this category already published are P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 (309), P. Corn. 13 (311; see BL VI 31), and XIV **1708** (311). All these texts fall within a very short time-span, and all have very similar formulas, especially for the *βεβαίωσις*-clause. The buyer in **4748**, Aurelius Theodorus, is known in the same capacity from four other texts of the group (P. Berl. Leihg. I 21, **1708**, **4749**, **4752**), and must either have operated a business using donkeys or have been a dealer.

The script is a rapid cursive where individual letters cannot always be defined. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεήρου Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Κ[αί]σαρος.
Αὐρήλιος Ὠφέλις Παύλου μη(τρὸς) Τιτάειτος
ἀπὸ κώμης Εἰσίου Κάτου τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου
5 νομοῦ Αὐρηλίῳ Θεοδώρῳ Ἀρ[ποκρα-
τίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν [πόλεως
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι [καὶ παρα-
δεδωκέναι σοι ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω [Κυνοπ(ολίτου)
ὄνον ἄρρεναν ἄβολον λευκόχρω[μον, τιμῆς
10 τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφ[ωνη-

μένης ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομί[σματος
 (ταλάντων) ε (δραχμῶν) Ἄ, ἄπερ αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον παρὰ [σου
 διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, τῆς βεβα[ιώσεως
 πρὸς πάσαν βεβαίωσι[ν ἐξακολ]ουθ[ού-
 15 χῆς μοι τῷ πεπρακότι διὰ παντ[ὸς καὶ ἀπὸ
 παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσομένου, καὶ ἐ(περωτηθεῖς) [ῶμολόγησα.
 κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις.
 (ἔτους) ιε'' καὶ (ἔτους) γ'' καὶ (ἔτους) α['] τ[ῶν κ]υρίων [ἡμῶν
 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σευήρου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Μαξι[μίνου
 20 καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καισάρων, Μεχειρ ιη'. (m. 2) Α[υρήλ]ιος
 Ὁφέλις πέπρακα τὴν ὄν[ον
 καὶ ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμῆ[ν
 πλήρη ὡς πρόκι[τ]αι.
 25 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς [. . .]. ητο[
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα
 μὴ εἰδότος.

3 l. Ὁφέλιος μη? l. Τιτιάιτος 4 l. Ἰσειίου Κάτω l. Ὁξυρυνχίτου 6 l. Ὁξυρυνχιδῶν
 9 l. ἄρρενα 12 τ ς 16 ε? 18 L 19 l. Σεουήρου 22 l. Ὁφέλιος l. τόν
 24 l. πρόκειται

'Under the consuls our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar.

Aurelius Ophelius, son of Paulus, mother Tisaïs, from the village Isieion Kato of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Theodorus, son of Harpocraton, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold and given over to you in the market-place of the Upper Cynopolite a white-coloured male donkey, which has not yet shed its first teeth, at the price agreed with each other of 5 talents and 1000 drachmas of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, which I have received from you on the spot in full from hand to hand, the guarantee in every respect being incumbent on me, the seller, for ever and against anyone taking legal action and in answer to the question I gave my assent (?). The sale is enforceable.

'(Year) 15 and (year) 3 and (year) 1 of our lords Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most noble Caesars, Mecheir 18.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ophelius, have sold the (female) donkey and I have received the price in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Heracles, son of . . . , wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

1-2 On the consuls, see *CLRE* 148-9 and *CSBE*² 175.

3 *Τιτιάειτος*. The central element is the name of the god Shaï, which, according to J. Quaegebeur, 'Subatianus Aquila, épistratège de la Thèbaïde (P. Oxy. XXXIV, 2708)', *CE* 87 (1969) 130, and *Le Dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (1975), is spelled *shai* in the Fayûm and *shoi* in Middle Egypt. In our case the form used is *Τιτιάις*, not *Τιτιόις* as we would expect.

4-5 ἀπὸ κώμης *Εἰσειίου Κάτου* (l. *Κάτω*). On this village, see now F. Morelli, *CPR* XXII 3.5 n., with references. It was located in the *Κάτω Τοπαρχία* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The adverb *κάτω* in the name of the

village is not an indication of the toparchy (see G. M. Parássoglou, 'Sitologoi Documents', *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 87), since the village *Υκειῶν Ἄνω* was situated in the same toparchy. It would have been a small place: in **X 1285** 39 and 133, the payments of 20 and 18 drachmas levied upon *Υκειῶν Κάτω* are lower than those of all other villages recorded in this third-century tax list. In **XII 1529** 5 the payment of grain from this village appears to be relatively high, but the papyrus is too fragmentary for any reliable conclusion to be drawn.

Κάτου. The same form in **XVI 1917** 97 and elsewhere. For the interchange of *ου* and *ω*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 210, with an example with *ἄνου* for *ἄνω* in P. Tebt. II 417.30 (III).

5–6 *Ἀύρηλίω Θεοδώρῳ Ἀρ[ποκρα]τίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγγειτῶν [πόλεως]*. For this person, see introd. In P. Berl. Leihg. I 21.4 (309), another donkey sale transacted at the same market, he is referred to as *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγγίτου νομοῦ*. That text, however, is said to have been found at Hermopolis, and the seller was a Hermopolite who retained the contract; contrast **4749** and **4752**.

8 *ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω [Κυνοπολίτου]*. Cf. **4750** 8–9, **4752** 8. For the market-place in this nome see N. Litinas, 'Market-Places in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The Use of the Word *ἀγορά* in the Papyri', *Pap. Congr.* XXI ii 603–4; for animal sales there, see A. Jördens, 'Sozialstrukturen im Arbeitstierhandel des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten', *Tyche* 10 (1995) 60.

Ἄνω [Κυνοπολίτου]. The definition *Ἄνω* is used as a distinction from the Cynopolite nome in the Delta; see **XIV 1708** introd. and **XLVII 3345** 50 n.

9 *ὄνον ἄρρεναν*. Here the donkey is said to be male, but in the subscription (22) we find *τῆν ὄν[ον]*. For the ending *-αν* see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45–6.

ἄβολον. On this term see the commentary to CPR VI 2.

12 The statement of the price in words has been left out, requiring us to understand the talent- and drachma-symbols as genitive. The same occurs in P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 (another donkey sale with the same buyer, from two years later; the hand is not the same). In **4751** below it is the price in figures that is not given.

16 *ξ(περωτηθεῖς)*. The stark abbreviation is unexpected, but almost as abrupt an abbreviation occurs in **4752** 18. If the version here is rightly interpreted, then presumably *ὠμολόγησα* was also abbreviated; there would be room for *ωμολ()*. Cf. also **4750** 19.

17 The *κυρία*-clause would be expected to precede the *ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα*-clause (see above), as it does for example in most of the others of this group of donkey sales, i.e. **4750**, **4752**, P. Corn. 13, and **1708**, and also in **4751**. The words *κυρία ἢ πράσις* at first seem oddly spaced and aligned relative to the line preceding, but the writer has simply wished to avoid an awkward gap on the papyrus surface resulting from the strip construction. Similar avoidance is obvious in the subscription at 24.

22 *τῆν ὄν[ον]*. See above, 9 n.

N. LITINAS

4749. TOP OF DOCUMENT (SALE OF A DONKEY?)

28 4B.60/C(4–5)b

17.9 × 6.6 cm

12 February 307

The top of a document, conceivably a donkey sale: it features Aurelius Theodorus, son of Harpocraton, attested as a buyer of donkeys (and a colt) in **1708**, **4748**, **4752**, and P. Berl. Leihg. I 21; see **4748** introd. This is also suggested by the archaeological context: the papyrus was found in the fourth excavation season at Oxyrhynchus (1904/5), which also yielded **4748** and **4752** (and just possibly **1708**; see the preface to vol. XIV).

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεύρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμίνου ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος.

Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Οὐαλερίου οὐετρανὸς καταγεινόμε-
 νος ἐν τῇ λαμ(προτάτη ?) μεγάλη Ἑρμοῦ πόλει Αὐρηλίω Θεοδώρῳ
 5 Ἄρποκρατίωνος ἀπ[ὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως . . .]. [
 . . .]..[

3 λ. καταγι- 4 λαμδ

'Under the consuls our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar.
 Aurclius Severus, son of Valerius, residing in the most (?) splendid great Hermopolis, to Aurelius Theodorus,
 son of Harpocraton, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites . . .'

3 *Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Οὐαλερίου*. This person does not seem to be known otherwise.

It is interesting that the scribe wrote *Σεουήρος*; contrast the spelling of the emperor's/consul's name, written *Σευήρου* in 1 and in most consular formulas of 307.

3-4 *καταγεινόμε[ε]νος ἐν τῇ λαμ(προτάτη ?) μεγάλη Ἑρμοῦ πόλει*. Cf. P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 and 4752, in which the sellers of the donkeys originate from Hermopolite localities.

4 *ἐν τῇ λαμ(προτάτη ?) μεγάλη Ἑρμοῦ πόλει*. This sequence of epithets of Hermopolis appears to be new, unless P. Vind. Sijr. 11.5 (453) does have *λαμπρο(τάτης) μεγάλης* (cf. BL X 113); P. Cair. Masp. II 67164.2 (569) [*λαμ]πρά[ε] καὶ μεγάλης* is too isolated. *μεγάλη καὶ λαμπροτάτη* is relatively common. See generally N. Litinas, 'Hermou polis of the Thebais', *APF* 41/1 (1995) 76-84.

N. GONIS

4750. SALE OF A DONKEY

28 4B 62/B (5-7) a

10 × 21 cm

307
Plate XV

In a contract of *χειρόγραφον*-form, complete except at the foot, Aurelius Isidorus from Euergetis in the Upper Cynopolite nome acknowledges that he has sold to Aurelius Heraclammon, from Oxyrhynchus, a male donkey for 5 talents 4000 drachmas and has received the total sum.

The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Σευήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος.
 Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος Ἄνουβίων(ος) μη(τρὸς) Πλουσίας
 ἀπὸ πόλεως Εὐεργέτιδος τοῦ Ἄνω Κυν(οπολίτου)
 5 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρακλάμμωνος Διδυμίωνος
 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχι-
 τῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρα-
 κέναι καὶ παραδεδωκέναι σοι ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς

τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολείτου ὄνον ἄρρενα δευτε-
 10 ροβόλον μελανόχρωμον [[τιμ]] οὐλήν ἔχον(τα)
 ἐπ(ι) τοῦ δεξιοῦ ποτός, τιμῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους συνπεφωνημένης ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶ(ν)
 νομίματος ταλάντων πέντε καὶ δραχμὰς
 τετρακιςχειλίων, γ(ίνονται) (τάλαντα) ε (δραχμαὶ) Δ', ἅπερ αὐτόθι
 15 ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους,
 τῆς βεβαιώσεως πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν βεβαί-
 ω]σιν ἐξακολουθούσης μοι τῷ πεπρακότι
 διὰ παντὸς καὶ] ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσομένου.
 κυρία ἢ πράσι]ς, ἀπλή γρ(αφεῖσα) καθαρὰ, καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα).
 20 (ἔτους) ιε καὶ (ἔτους) γ καὶ (ἔτους) α] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ
 Σευήρ(ου)
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Μαξι]μίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καιάρων,]. [.]. . . .
 (m.2) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος πέπρακα τὸ]ν ὄνο(ν)

1 ὑπατων	2 l. Σευήρου	3 ἰσίδωρος μῆ	4 κυν	5 l. Ἡρακλάμμωνι	6-
7 οξυρυγχειτων; l. Ὁξυρυγχιτών		9 l. Κυνοπολίτου	10 l. δευτεροβόλον	11 l. ποδός	
12 l. συμπεφωνημένης σεβαστῶ		13 l. δραχμῶν	14 l. τετρακιςχειλίων Γ'ε } of πλήρους rewritten and confused	15 end	
l. Σευήρου	23 ονο	16 ν of τὴν corr. from α	19 γρ επερ } επερ ^ρ }	20 σευήρ	

'Under the consuls our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus Caesar.

Aurelius Isidorus, son of Anubion, mother Plusia, from the city of Euergetis of the Upper Cynopolite, to Aurelius Heraclammon, son of Didymion, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold and given over to you in the market-place of the Upper Cynopolite a black-coloured male donkey which has shed its second teeth and has a scar on its right leg, at the price agreed with each other of five talents and four thousand drachmas of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total 5 talents 4000 drachmas, which I received from you on the spot in full from hand to hand, the guarantee with regard to every other guarantee being incumbent on me, the seller, for ever and against anyone taking legal action. The sale, written in a single copy and free of mistakes, is enforceable and in answer to the question I gave my assent.

'Year 15 and year 3 and year 1 of our lords Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantine the most noble Caesars, (month and day).

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Isidorus, have sold the donkey . . .'

1-2 The consular formula fixes the text somewhere in 307, excluding an uncertain portion at the end of the year when Severus was dropped from the formula. The regnal-year figures are lost at 20. Month and day were given at the foot (22) but are much damaged and remain unread. (δ, ιδ, or λ seem to be the best possibilities for the day, i.e. the 4th, 14th, or 30th.) Without a month to provide a control, 15/3/1 must be the most likely year, thus restricting the date of the text to the first eight months (until 29 August) of the year. This would tally with the analysis by D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, 'Von κύριος zu δεσπότης: Eine Bemerkung zur Kaisertitulatur im

3./4. Jhdt.', *ZPE* 39 (1980) 168–9, of the use of *κύριος* and *δεσπότης* in consular dates. It is curious that the late examples of the use of *κύριος* that Hagedorn and Worp record include the donkey sales P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 and P. Corn. 13 (cf. above, **4748** introd.).

We cannot strictly exclude 16/4/2 as the regnal-year figures to be restored in 20, since the earliest attestation of Maximinus as sole consul is LXIII **4355** of 20 November 307; see also the commentary on LXIII **4354**, where Severus still features. Severus was probably not dropped from the formula until after 25 July 307 (see **4355** 6–7 n.), so that it remains possible that he could have featured in a consular date falling in year 16/4/2. However, while the scanty traces of the month in **4750** 22 have not yielded a positive identification, they are probably sufficient to exclude Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, and Choiak, and with them any assignment to the regnal year 16/4/2.

2 For the omission of *τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου*, cf. P. Sakaon 64, the only papyrus published so far to add *τὸ α'*.

4 ἀπὸ πόλεως *Εὐεργέτιδος τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολίτου*. See N. Litinas, 'Κυνῶν πόλις and *Εὐεργέτις*: Designation and Location of the Capital of the Cynopolite Nome', *APF* 40/2 (1994) 143–55.

8–9 ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολείτου. See **4748** 8 n.

9–10 *δευτεροβόλων* (l. -βόλον). On this term see the commentary to CPR VI 2.

10–11 οὐλήν ἔχον(τα) ἐπ(ὶ) τοῦ δεξιοῦ ποτός. The only certain parallel for the use of the phrase οὐλήν ἔχων regarding a donkey would appear to be P. Lond. III 1128 (ed. *ZPE* 124 (1999) 195–8), where lines 6–7 read ἔχοντα οὐλάς ἐπὶ τῶν [; there (p. 197, 6–7 n.) it is suggested that the phrase also occurs in P. Col. X 264.7–8. See further **4751** 6 n.

That this detail was not a usual one is suggested by the fact that the scribe began to write, after the basic description of the donkey, the word *τιμῆς*, i.e. the phrase that appears in the next line. (He began *τιμ* (and more, erased?), stopped, left a space, moved down a line and began *τιμῆς* again; then οὐλήν *κτλ.* was inserted into the space. The scribe did not erase the already written *τιμ*, but overwrote it with οὐλήν.)

19 καθαρά. Cf. **4752** 18, and P. Oslo II 35.21. Presumably it represents an abbreviated form of *καθαρὰ ἀπὸ ἀλείφατος καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς vel sim.* (e.g. P. Lips. 10 ii 3), 'a clean copy'.

20–2 For the restoration of the regnal-year numbers in 20 and for the importance of the traces of the month in 22, see above, 1–2 n.

N. LITINAS

4751. SALE OF A DONKEY

28 4B.62/B (8–9)a

15 × 26 cm

15 June 310
Plate XVI

In a contract of *χειρόγραφον*-type, which has lost a large rectangular section from its upper right but is otherwise well preserved, Aurelius Bassus, possibly from Syria (see 2 n.), acknowledges that he has sold a male donkey for eight talents and has received the total sum. The name of the buyer is lost with the upper right section.

The main hand is a stylish upright practised professional script of official type; beta is very tall, extending both above and below the line. The consular date (16–17) is in a much smaller rapid sloping hand. The spelling in the crudely-written subscription (18–25) is extraordinary, with omicron extensively substituted for alpha (e.g. *τόλοντο* for *τάλαντα*, 20–1). A manufacturer's three-layer *kollesis* runs down the line beginnings, around three letters in. The back is blank.

Αὐρήλ[ιος Βάσσοσ

Φοινικη[

ἀπό τῆ[ς
 ὁμολογ[ῶ
 5 ἄρρενα [
 ἔμπρο[σθεν
 φας παρ[
 τιμῆς [τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημένης ἀργυρίου]
 Σεβαστ[ῶ]ν νομίσμα[τ]ος τάλαντων ὀκτὼ ἄπερ αὐτόθι
 10 ἀπέσχ[ο]ν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χιρὸς περὶ ἧς ἀριθμήσεως
 ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁμολόγησα, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὄνον βεβαι-
 ώσω σοὶ πάσῃ βεβαιώσῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποιη-
 σόμενον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄνου χάριν ἢ μέρους αὐτοῦ ἐπάναγκες
 ἀποστήσω παραχρῆμα ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δί-
 15 κης. κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.
 (m. 2) ὑπ[α]τ[ί]ας Τατίου Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν λαμπροτάτων
 ἐπαρχῶν, μῆν(ὸς?) Ἰουνίων, Παῦνι κα-.

(m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Β[ο]άκος πέπρ[ο]ακα τὸν προκύ-
 μενὸν ὄνον καὶ ὀπέχον
 20 τὰ[ς] τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου τόλον-
 το ὀκτὼ καὶ βεβαιώσω ὅς πρό-
 κίται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολώ-
 γησα. Αὐρήλει[ς]ος Ἀθ[ει]ηνόδωρος ἔγρα-
 ψ]α ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης γράμ-
 25 ματο.

10 l. χιρὸς 11-12 l. βεβαιώσῃ 15 l. γραφεῖσα 16 ὑπατίας; l. ὑπατείας Πομπηίου
 17 μῆν? ἰουνίων; l. Ἰουνίου 18 ι of Αὐρήλιος corr. a in Βάκος and πέπρακα written over ο; l. Βάκος
 18-19 l. προκείμενον 19 l. ἀπέσχον gap before last letter 20 τας written over ,ρος l. τιμῆς
 ἀργυρίου τολον' 20-1 l. τάλαντα 21 l. ὡς 21-2 l. πρόκειται 22-3 l. ὁμολόγησα
 23 l. Αὐρήλιος 24 η of μῆ corr. 24-5 l. γράμματα

'Aurelius Bassus, son of . . . , from . . . of the province of Phoenice(?), to . . . from . . . I acknowledge that I have sold to you . . . a male (donkey) . . . at the price agreed between us of eight talents of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, which I received from you on the spot in full from hand to hand, concerning which sum I was asked the question by you and gave my assent, and that I shall guarantee to you the same donkey with every guarantee and I shall necessarily oppose anyone taking legal action or making a claim concerning the same donkey or a share of it immediately at my own expense, as one does when bringing a legal action. The sale, written in a single copy, is enforceable and in answer to the question I gave my assent.

(2nd hand) 'In the consulship of Tatus Andronicus and Pompeius Probus, *virī clarissimi, praefecti*, in the month of June, Payni 21.

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Bassus, have sold the aforementioned donkey and I received the price of eight talents of silver and I shall guarantee as aforesaid and in answer to the question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Athenodorus, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

2 Φοινικη[. At this point we might expect the origin of the seller to be specified, and it is tempting to see here a reference to the province of Phoenice.

4 The sales in **4748**, **4750**, and **4752** took place in the market of the Upper Cynopolite nome. That seems unlikely here because the formula from 10 on is quite different.

5–6 In these lines we expect the description of the donkey. The gender (male) is stated at the beginning of 5; the age and the colour should have followed.

6 ἔμπρο[ρθεν. This occurs as part of the description of a donkey in P. Col. X 264.7–8, as corrected in *ZPE* 124 (1999) 197: ὄνον θήλιαν λευκώχρ[ουον οὐλήν ἐ]χων (l. ἔχουσαν) εἰς τὸ ἐνπρωσθεν [. εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν is not temporal but indicates the part of the animal where the scar was to be found. No doubt we should look for a comparable expression in the present papyrus.

7 φας. This might be the end of παρείληφας followed by the τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον-clause, which does not appear later in this document. The text might have run as follows:

ὄν ἐντεῦθεν παρείλη-]
φας παρ' [ἐμοῦ τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον καὶ ἀνεπίλημπτον]

10 περὶ ἧς ἀριθμήσεως. This relative clause appears in contracts concluded in Oxyrhynchus from the third century onwards (only P. Köln VII 329 is from Heracleopolis). It is always attested after the statement of the receipt of the price and concludes with the stipulatio ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὡμολόγησα.

11 τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὄνον. Cf. XLIII **3143** 14–15, **3145** 15, SB VI 9214.20. In these examples after τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὄνον the phrase ἐντεῦθεν παρείληφας παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον καὶ ἀνεπίλημπτον, ὄν καὶ . . . follows, but in this document this clause seems to have stood in 6–7 above (see 7 n.). For the meaning and the role of this clause, see L. Dorner, *Zur Sachmängelhaftung beim gräco-ägyptischen Kauf* (Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1974) 59–71; A. Kränzlein, 'τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον in den Eselverkaufsurlunden aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten', *Grazer Beiträge* 12 (1985/6) 225–34; id., 'Probleme Kaiserzeitlicher Tierveräußerungsverträge auf Papyrus', *Symposion* 1985 (1989) 325–35; for its use in sales of slaves, see also Z. Borkowski, J. A. Straus, 'P. Colon. Inv. 4781 verso: vente d'une esclave', *ZPE* 98 (1993) 252 (12–14 n.).

12–15 καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον κτλ. On the clause see H.-A. Rupprecht, 'Beβαίωσις und Nichtangriffsklausel', *Symposion* 1977 (1982) 239, 2c.

16–17 On the consuls, see *CLRE* 154–5 and *CSBE*² 176. The usual *gentilicium* of the first consul is Tattius, but there are a few examples of Stattius.

18 Βάκος. For the spelling, cf. e.g. XXXIV **2727** 1 (III–IV).

18–25 Aurelius Athenodorus, who signed on behalf of Aurelius Bassus, was a βραδέως γράφων. His text is full of mistakes. Most remarkable is his tendency to write omicrons instead of alphas, especially when the alphas were not part of a diphthong (αι, αυ).

18–19 προκύμενον. For the interchange of υ and ει, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 273.

N. LITINAS

4752. SALE OF A COLT

28 4B.62/B(3)a

14.3 × 25.6 cm

4 March 311

In this well-preserved contract of χειρόγραφον-type Aurelius Horion, from the Her-mopolite nome, acknowledges that he has sold a colt, the species of which is not specified

(cf. below, 9 n., and P. Mich. IX 552 introd.), to Aurelius Theodorus from Oxyrhynchus (see 4748 introd.) for 9 talents 3000 drachmas and has received the total sum.

It is not clear whether the contract and the date and signature are all written by the same hand. 19 ff. are written more heavily, but a change of style is less obvious. A repair strip was affixed down the right hand side from 9 onwards before the contract was written. There is a docket down the fibres on the back.

- Αὐρήλιο[ς] Ὀρίων Τυράννου
 μη(τρός) Μαρίας ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Π. λανδροσ
 τοῦ μεγάλου Ἐρμοπολείτου νομοῦ
 Αὐρηλίῳ Θεοδώρῳ Ἀρποκρατίωνος
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυ(ν)-
 χειτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμ[ο]λογῶ {πε}
 πεπρακέναι καὶ παραδεδωκ[έ]ναι σοι
 ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολείτου
 πῶλον ἄβωλον λευκόχρωμον,
 10 τιμῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνπεφωνη-
 μένης ἀργυρίου(ς) Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος
 ταλάντων ἑννῆα καὶ δραχμῶν
 τριχιλείων, γ(ίνονται) (τάλαντα) θ (δραχμαὶ) ΓΨΣ, ἅ κ[αὶ] αὐτόθει ἀπέσχ'ο(ν)
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χειρὸς, τῆς βεβαίω-
 15 σεως πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν βεβαίωσι
 ἐξακολουθούσῃ μοι τῷ πεπρακόντι
 διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσομένου.
 {κ}κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις ἀ(πλή) γρ(αφείσα) καθαρὰ, καὶ ἐπ(ερωτηθεὶς) ὠμολό(γῃσα).
 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 20 Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ἦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τὸ β', Φαμ(ενῶθ) η.
 Αὐρήλιος Ὀρίων οὐλὴν ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν
 {τὴν} ἀριστερὰν χεῖραν πέπρακα
 τὸν πῶλον καὶ ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμὴν
 πλήρη ὡς π(ρόκειται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εἰσιδω(ρος) ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ αὐτοῦ)
 γρ(άμματα)
 25 μὴ εἰδότος.

Back:

πρ(ᾶσις) πῶλου

2 μη[?] 3 l. Ἐρμωπολίτου 5 οξυρῦ 5-6 l. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν 8 l. Κνωπολίτου
 9 l. ἄβολον λευκ over μελαν washed over but not erased 10-11 l. συμπεφωνημένης 12 l. ἐννέα
 13 l. τριχιλίων Γ^τ § απεσχ^σ l. αὐτόθι 18 α²γρ^ς επρωμολῶ 19 των δε written partly
 over στατιου α 20 Μαξιμιανου: extra stroke after second μ (not ε) 21-2 l. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρός
 24 π^ς? αὐρ^ςεἰδω^ςεγρ^ςυ^ςγρ^ς 1. Ἰσιδωρος(?) 26 †

‘Aurelius Horion, son of Tyrannus, mother Maria, from the farmstead of P-landros in the great Hermopolite nome, to Aurelius Theodorus, son of Harpocraton, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold and given over to you in the market-place of the Upper Cynopolite a white-coloured colt, which has not yet shed its first teeth, at the price agreed with each other of nine talents and three thousand drachmas of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total 9 talents 3000 drachmas, which I also received from you on the spot in full from hand to hand, the guarantee in every other respect being incumbent on me, the seller, for ever and against anyone taking legal action. The sale, written in a single copy and free of mistakes, is enforceable and in answer to the question I gave my assent.

‘In the consulship of our masters Maximianus for the 8th time and Maximinus for the 2nd time, Phamenoth 8.

‘I, Aurelius Horion, having a scar on the left hand, have sold the colt and have received the price in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Isidorus(?), have written on his behalf as he does not know letters.’

(Back) ‘Sale of a colt.’

1-2 The seller has not been attested elsewhere in papyri.

2 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Π. λανδρος. It is possible that the name was a later insertion. The writer might have meant the ἐποικίον Πάλλαντος, several times attested in the Hermopolite nome (see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 189-90), including a form with a single lambda.

3 τοῦ μεγάλου Ἐρμωπολείτου νομοῦ. See N. Litinas, ‘Notes on Some Papyri’, *APF* 45/1 (1999) 78-9.

8 ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω Κνωπολείτου. See **4748** 8 n.

9 πῶλον. The word can be used of various animals, e.g. donkeys, horses, and camels. Since the purchaser is known from other texts to have bought donkeys in the market in the Upper Cynopolite at this period (see **4748** introd.), a young donkey would seem likely. This is also supported by the price, perhaps on the high side for a donkey that was not adult, but it is much lower than would be expected for a horse or camel at this period.

19-20 On the consulship, see *CLRE* 156-7 and *CSBE*² 176-7. This short formula occurs only here.

After the word ὑπατίας (19) the writer first wrote Στατίου Ἀ-, denoting the consulship of Staius Andronicus and Pompeius Probus, i.e. 310, the year before (see **4751** 16-17 n.).

24 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εἰσιδω(ρος). This part of the subscription is in an extremely difficult and ambivalent script. While εἰγρ(αψα) κτλ. do not pose problems, it is hard to be sure of the ductus and abbreviation-point of Αὐρ(ήλιος) and the individual name that follows.

N. LITINAS

4753. LEASE OF LAND

44 5B.60/C(43-5)c

9.5 × 23.1 cm

19 October 341

This lease is in the form of an *epidoche*, the format characteristic of Oxyrhynchite leases in the fourth century: see Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 12, 41. It relates to two plots of land near Cercemunis, of four and four and a half aruras respectively, half to be sown with wheat and half with grass (cf. **4747** 10-11). It is noteworthy that the rent on the half to be sown with grass is to be paid in barley (see 15-16 n.). For the omission of the

ἄβροχος-clause, see 4747 introd. The lease is for one year only. The land formed part of an estate (23) and the owner, who is at this date still a minor, is known to have later been prytanis at Oxyrhynchus and strategus of the Oxyrhynchite; see below, 3 n.

The document is complete and the back is blank. The hand is an ugly though practised cursive, sometimes difficult to read, and one which uses a variety of letter-forms.

ὑπατείας Ἀ[ν]τωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου
 Προβίνου [τ]ῶν λαμπροτάτων, Φαῶφι κβ.
 Γαῖω Ἰουλίῳ Λευκαδίῳ υἱῷ Ἡρακλειανοῦ διὰ
 Φλαουῖου Εὐ[ε]βίου ἀπὸ λογιστῶν κηδαιμόνος
 5 παρὰ Αὐρήλιῳ Ὠρου Πανεχώτου καὶ Παπον-
 θέως . . . [. . .]ιος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Παν-
 κύλεως. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσα-
 σθαι πρὸς μ[ό]νον τὸ ἐνεστὸς [λς] καὶ ιη καὶ θ ἔτος ἀπὸ
 τῶν ὑπαρχ[όντ]ων σοι περὶ Κερκέμουνην ἐκ τοῦ
 10 Φίλωνος κλ[ήρου] ἀρούρας τέσσαρες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Στρα . . . νος
 κλήρου ἑξα[. . .] traces of c.13 ἄλλας ἀρούρας τέσσαρες
 ἡμικυ ὁμοῦ (ἀρούρας) ἡ (ἡμικυ) ὥστε . . . [. . .] . . . πυρῶ χόρτω
 ἐξ ἡμικίας καὶ τελέειν σοι ὑπὲρ φόρου τῆς ἐν πυρῶ ἡμι-
 15 κίας πυροῦ [ἀρτ]άβας τεσσε[ρά]κοντα τέσσαρες καὶ τῆς
 ἐν χόρτω ἡμικίας ἐκάστης [ἀρού]ρης ἀνὰ κριθῆς ἀρτά-
 βας δύο κα[ὶ τήν] τῶν αἰρούνη[τ]ων ναυβίων ἀναβο-
 λήν ποιήσομαι. ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρος παντὸς κινδύ-
 νου, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὸν γε-
 οῦχον κυριεύοντα τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὸν φόρον ἀπο-
 20 λάβης. βεβαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδόχης ἐπάναγ-
 κες ἀποδώσω τὸν φόρον ἐκ νέων γεννημάτων(ν),
 τὸν μὲν πυρὸν ἄκριθον καὶ τῆ[ν κ]ρ[ιθ]ήν κεκοσκι-
 νευμένα, μέτρῳ δεκάτ[ω] τ[ῆ]ς οὐσίας, προς-
 25 μετρουμένων ἐκάστη ἀρτάβη χοινίκω[ν τ]εσσά-
 ρων, τῷ Ἐπειφ μηνὶ τοῦ α[ὐτο]ῦ ἔτους ἀνυπερθέτως,
 γεινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ ὡς καθήκι.
 κυρία ἢ ἐπιδόχῃ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ὠρος Πανεχώτου μεμίσθω-
 μαι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀποδώσω τὰ ὀφειλό-

30 μενα πάντα πλήρης ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλ(ιος)
 Φρόντων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαμένου
 μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματᾶ.

3 γαῖωῖουλιω νῖω 4 φλαουῖου 1. κηδεμόνος 6-7 1. Παγκύλεωσ 10, 11, 14 1. τέσσαρασ
 12 ζ ς' 13, 13-14, 15 1. ἡμιεΐας 14 1. τεσσαράκοντα 15 1. τελέσειν 21 γενηματῶ
 26 1. γινομένησ 1. καθήκει 30 αυρη^λ

‘In the consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, *virī clarissimi*, Phaophi 22.

‘To Gaius Iulius Leucadius son of Heraclianus, through his guardian Flavius Eusebius, former *curator civitatis*, from Aurelii Horus son of Panechotes and Papontheus son of . . . both from the hamlet of Pancylis. I [*sic*] willingly undertake to hold on lease for the current 36th and 18th and 9th year only from your possessions in the area of Cercemunis four aruras from the allotment of Philo and another four and a half aruras from the allotment of Straton(?) [??], making together 8 ½ (ar), to sow(?) with wheat [or] fodder crops half and half, and to pay you as rent on the half in wheat forty-four artabas of wheat and on the half in fodder crops a rate of two artabas of barley for each arura, and I will perform the raising of the dyke works incumbent (on the landowner). The rent is free from any risk, the taxes on the land being the responsibility of you the landowner, retaining control of the crops until you recover the rent. The undertaking being confirmed for me, I shall pay the rent of necessity out of new crops, the wheat unadulterated with barley and it and the barley both sieved, in the one-tenth measure of the estate, four choenices being added to each artaba, in the month Epeiph of the same year without delay, the right of execution for you lying against me and so on. The undertaking is binding and having been asked the formal question I gave my assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Horus son of Panechotes, have taken on lease the land and shall pay all that is owed in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Phronto, wrote on his behalf as he claims to be illiterate.’

1-2 On the consuls, see *CLRE* 216-17 and *CSBE*² 184.

3 In P. Mert. I 36, C. Iulius Leucadius is addressed as *πρ(υτανεύσαντι) γυ(μνασιάρχῆσαντι) βουλ(ευστῆ)* of Oxyrhynchus in 360. In 362-4 he was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome (currently the last strategus known by name in the Oxyrhynchite); see LXVII 4607-13 with 4606-13 introd. At the date of 4753 he was still a minor and under the guardianship of Flavius Eusebius, a former *λογιτής* (*curator civitatis*), and thus also a member of the local élite; see below, 4 n. In P. Mert. 36.3, Leucadius' father's name is presented as . . . *μαλανο(υ)*, for which P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 185 n. 1 (= BL VII 104) suggested *Ἡρακλάτος*. 4753 settles the uncertainty: read *Ἡρακλιανοῦ* (RAC). For leases of land by minors at Oxyrhynchus, see Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 262-3.

4 Flavius Eusebius was *λογιτής* of the Oxyrhynchite nome from 337 to 339; see LIV p. 228, with LX 4083-4.

5-6 *Παπονθέωσ*. The nominative is probably *Παπονθεύσ*. Two persons with this name from the Oxyrhynchite are attested in P. Mich. XI 614, where however the genitive is *Παπονθεύτοσ*. The feminine equivalent *Ταπονθεύτοσ* occurs in XIV 1631 4 and P. Mert. II 84.3 = C. Pap. Gr. II(1) 66; cf. P. Laur. IV 171.2 and PSI XIV 1409.1 (endings restored).

6-7 *Πανκύλεωσ*. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 129, records this in the spelling *Παγγύλιεσ*, and it is so spelled in XIX 2243(a) 34. Elsewhere, however (IV 732 5, P. Alex. 13.5, PSI VIII 890.30, P. Mert. I 36.7, 24), it is spelled *Πανκ-* or *Παγκ-* as here. P. Mert. 36.7 as corrected (BL VIII 208) proves that it was situated in the 1st *pagus*; this was formed from the former Upper Toparchy to which Cercemunis (9) had also belonged (cf. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 12). In P. Mert. 36 it is described as an *ἐποίκιον* that is part of the estate of C. Iulius Leucadius. See further S. Daris in S. F. Bondi et al. (edd.), *Studi in onore di E. Bresciani* (1985) 148-50.

9 *Κερκέμωνιν*. See Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 80.

10 *Φίλωνοσ* is the name of several *κλήροι* in the Oxyrhynchite; see P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 204-5. The *κλήροσ* attested in PSI IV 320.10 is the one attested here, since it is said to be near Cercemunis.

στρατήριος. It is not easy to read *στράτωνος*, omega being especially difficult. κλήροι of this name are attested for the Antinoopolite (P. Antin. II 89.8) and the Hermopolite (SB XVIII 13176.32) nomes, but no such κλήρος has yet been attested for the Oxyrhynchite, unless the name should be read in P. Wisc. I 9.8–9: a κλήρος near Cercemunis with a double name occurs there, which the editor reads ἐκ τοῦ Ξένωνος καὶ Cπλήδωνος, but the second name is doubtful.

11 If εἰς[] is correct, this would suggest ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου, perhaps followed by μέρους καί; cf. P. Mert. I 17.16–18 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Μεγάλου κλήρου ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου καὶ λιβὸς μέρους πρὸς ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς, also SB VIII 9918.4–6 and P. Fouad 43.19–20 (all Oxyrhynchite leases).

12 ὁμοῦ (ἀρούρας) ἢ (ἡμίμου). This exact wording, i.e. ὁμοῦ + the total of aruras, is found in SPP XX 142.14, a fourth-century Heracleopolite lease. γίνονται ὁμοῦ + the total of aruras occurs in two 6th-cent. leases, PSI VIII 934.5–6 and CPR I 42.15. At least two Oxyrhynchite leases have at this point γίνονται without ὁμοῦ, PSI IX 1070.10 and LXIII 4390 15.

12–13 After ὡστε 4747 10–11 has σπῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι κατ' ἔτος πυρῶ χόρτω ἐξ ἡμικίας, and we expect the same here (omitting κατ' ἔτος); cf. also L 3591 14–16 and 3592 11–12 (both with χλωροῖς for χόρτω); but there is insufficient room for this.

13 τελέειν σοι ὑπὲρ φόρου. So, e.g., XLV 3257 9. It is normal for rent in both kind and money to be described as φόρος by the fourth century; see 4747 14 n.

14 Rent of 44 artabas on 4¼ aruras is very high (and there is an additional charge; see 23–5 n.): see fig. 4 in Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 249.

15–16 This seems to be the first example from the Oxyrhynchite of rent on a fodder-crop being paid in barley; no instance is recorded in Rowlandson's App. 2. P. Mich. III 185, a four-year lease from the Arsinoite, requires payment each year in barley, although in the fourth year the land is to be sown ἐν χόρτω εἰς κοπήν ξηρασίας (18–19); cf. P. Lond. III 1225 (p. 138; Hermopolite), rent in barley for land leased εἰς ξυλαμῆν ἀράκου.

16–17 Several Oxyrhynchite leases from the fourth century and later indicate that the lessee(s) is/are to be responsible for *naubia* due (from the owner of the land); see the texts cited by N. Gonis, *Tyche* 15 (2000) 100. For dyke work falling to the lessee in earlier leases, see L 3589 10–11 with the texts cited in the note.

21 The phrase ἐκ νέων (γενημάτων) usually occurs in repayment of loans of grain, especially loans of seed-corn (e.g. VII 1024 35). For its occurrence in a lease, see III 500 19 (from the Athribite nome). No doubt it is simply the equivalent of the usual νέος (cf. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 11 with n. 65).

22–3 κεκοσκιευμένα. Similarly XIV 1689 28–31, ἀποδότῳσαν οἱ μεμ[ι]θωμένοι τὸν πυρὸν καὶ τὴν φακὴν νέα καθαρά ἄδολα ἄβ[ωλ]α κεκοσκιευμένα.

23–5 For this phrase, see 4747 19–20 n. In effect the total rent is being increased by $52 \frac{1}{2} \times 4$ choenices = $5 \frac{1}{4}$ artabas (assuming an artaba of 40 choenices).

25 Payment of rent in kind in Epeiph, instead of the usual month Payni, is regular in the Hermopolite nome (Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 107–8) but rare in the Oxyrhynchite (cf. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 115 n. 111). It is interesting that Epeiph is also the month specified for payment in P. Mert. I 36 (see above, 3 n.).

26 ὡς καθήκει. See 4747 21 n.

29–30 ἀποδώσω τὰ ὀφειλόμενα πάντα πλήρης ὡς πρόκειται. This suggests that in LV 3800 43–4 we should correct ἀποδώ[σω τὰ προκέιμ]ενα το ἀποδώ[σω τὰ ὀφειλόμ]ενα. The use of πλήρης (or ἐκ πλήρους) with reference to payment of rent due for a lease seems to be very unusual. There is a parallel in P. Vindob. G 26249.17–18 (ed. ZPE 141 (2002) 191–8; Heracleopolite; iv/v) καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῶν φόρων [sic] πλήρ(η)ς ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται; cf. also LXVII 4596 24–5 and CPR X 107a.27–8, where πλήρης occurs along with ἀποδίδωμι.

†D. MONTSERRAT

4754. TOP OF DOCUMENT

I 1B.123/E(a)

21.8 × 13.8 cm

10 September or 10 October
or 9 November 572

The upper part of a legal document addressed to an aristocratic landowning lady not known previously, the patricia Maria, daughter of the late patricius Ioannes. Maria may have been the sister of Flavia Christodote and Fl. Cometes, whose legal wrangle is known from PSI I 76 (cf. also P. Thomas 29); see below 5 n.

The nature of the document, called a *ὁμολογία* in the docket, can no longer be ascertained. Maria is addressed through her *διοικητής* and her *ἐπικείμενος*, which implies that the transaction concerned her Oxyrhynchite estate; see further 6–7 n.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότου μεγίστου
εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου)
Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγγοῦστου καὶ Ἀυτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ζ̄, ὑπατίας τῆς
αὐτῶν γαλην[(ότητος)
τὸ δεύτερον], (month) 13, ἰνδικτίωνος 5, ἔτους ςμθ ςιη.
Φλαουῖα Μαρία τῆ πανευφήμῳ πατρικία, θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς
5 εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἰωάννου γενομένου καὶ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου, γεουχοῦςη
καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει, δι' ὑμῶν Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰούστου τοῦ
εὐ[δο]κιμ(ωτάτου)
αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ καὶ Βίκτορος τοῦ θαυμ(ασιωτάτου) αὐτῆς ἐπικειμένου,
Ἀὐρ(ήλιος)
Ἰερημίας ὁ καὶ Παλ [.] [
Φ[οι]βάμμωνο[ς] . [

Back:

10 † ὁμ[ολ](ογία) Ἰερ[ημίου]

.....

1 εὐσεβ̄ 2 αυτοκρ 1. ὑπατείας 3 δευτερ ἰνδ' 6 Φλ̄ εὐ[δο]κιμ̄ 7 θαυμ̄

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 7, in the consulship of his *serenitas* for the second time, (month) 13, indiction 6, year 249/218.

'To Flavia Maria, the most renowned *patricia*, daughter of Ioannes of well-famed memory, who was a *patricius* too, landowner also in this New City of Iustinus, through you, Flavius Iustus, her most respected administrator, and Victor, her most admirable superintendent, Aurelius Ieremias alias Pal— . . . Phoebammon . . .'

Back: 'Agreement of Ieremias . . .'

1–3 Year 7 of the emperor Iustinus II ran from 15.xi.571 to 14.xi.572, while Oxyrhynchite era year 249/218, coterminous with indiction 6, ran from 29.viii.572 to 28.viii.573; thus the text cannot be later than November 572. The month was to be added later, but this was not done. The possibilities are Thoth 13 (= 10.ix), Phaophi 13 (= 10.x), or Hathyr 13 (= 9.xi); see *CSBE*² 151.

The regnal (and consular) formula of Iustinus II attested here is that classified as no. 4 in *CSBE*² 255; it has occurred exclusively in Oxyrhynchite documents.

4 Φλαουτῆ Μαρία . . . πατρικία. Maria's patriciate was probably not inherited from her father, but was due to her marriage to a *patricius*; on the issue see J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle)* i (1990) 271–8, ii (1992) 132–9, 310. It should be noted that Fl. Christodote, the (other?) daughter of the *patricius* Ioannes (see below, 4–5 n.) does not appear to hold the patriciate: she calls herself *ἐν θεῶ ἰλλουστρία* in PSI I 76.2.

It is unclear whether the *patricia* Maria has occurred in any other document. To judge from the predicate, she cannot be the same as the *μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη Μαρία* in XVI 2020 20, of the 580s (this Maria may have been the sister of Fl. Anastasia; see Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* ii 446 n. 25). Also, a different Maria should probably be recognised in 2020 30, τῆς ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτης) Μαρίας γαμε(τῆς) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) Αἰητοδώρου; even if it might be relevant that this Maria is described with reference to her husband, as would have been appropriate for a patrician's wife, he is not said to be one (the rarity of her husband's name might suggest an identification with the man whose heirs are mentioned in P. Sorb. II 69.71.B9, κ]λ(ηρονόμων) Αἰητοδώρου στρατηλά(του)—certainly not a *patricius*).

Only two other Egyptian *patriciae* are known by name: Fl. Gabrielia, who held the *λογιστεία, πατερία καὶ προεδρία* of Oxyrhynchus in 553 (XXXVI 2780); and Sophia, a great landowner in the Fayum (SPP VIII 1090–7), with possessions also in the area of Heracleopolis (P. Erl. 67, of 591), active in the later sixth century. For *patriciae* whose names are lost, see Beaucamp, *op. cit.* 407. For lists of *patriciae* in the empire at large, see *PLRE* III B 1466 (AD 395–527), 1472 (AD 527–641). On the patriciate in the period after Justinian see W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat* (1966) 61–7.

4–5 τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἰωάννου γενομένου καὶ αὐτοῦ πατρικίου. In theory, there could have been up to three *patricii* named Ioannes in sixth-century Egypt, and who were dead by 572:

(1) The father of Maria.

(2) The father of Christodote and Cometes (the ending of the name after an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus, where he is addressed as *Κομήτης*), referred to as deceased in PSI I 76.2 of 572 or 573 (Ioannes 52, *PLRE* III A 663; cf. BL VIII 393).

(3) A *dux* of the Thebaid in the 560s, who might have been dead by c.570 (Ioannes 59, *PLRE* III A 664, apparently the same as Ioannes 83, *PLRE* III A 674, and probably Ioannes 158, *PLRE* III A 690; see J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle* (MIFAO 115; 1999) 332–6).

Given that very few *patricii* occur in the papyri (see below), it would be more economical to reckon with one or two rather than three *patricii* of this name. In view of the Oxyrhynchite provenance of the documents attesting (1) and (2), it is tempting to assume that Maria, Christodote, and Cometes were children of the same father (in PSI I 76.2, Christodote is said to be *θυγάτηρ τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἰωάννου γενομένου πατρικίου*: cf. the wording in 4754 4–5); however, the fact that there is no reference to Maria in the long narrative about the wrangle of the two siblings (PSI I 76) might seem curious. As for (3), I would be inclined to believe that he is a different person from the late *patricius* of the Oxyrhynchite documents. (But it is also possible that (1) is the same as (3) and different from (2).)

Beaucamp, *op. cit.* 446 n. 26, has suggested that the father of Christodote and Cometes may have been the same as Ioannes son of Cometas, *dux Thebaidis*, referred to in Justinian's *Edict XIII* 24, in 539 (Ioannes 25, *PLRE* III A 640); in that case, Cometes would have been named after his paternal grandfather. This *dux* cannot be identified with the *patricius* Ioannes who was *dux Thebaidis* in the late 560s, since the latter was the son of Sarapammon (see Dioscorus II.31 Fournet). We do not know whether Ioannes son of Cometas became a *patricius*, but this need not be a problem. It is conceivable that there were two *duces Thebaidis* named Ioannes, and each one of them was a *patricius*.

(An interesting coincidence may be mentioned in this context. J. Gascou has suggested that the *dux* Ioannes of *Edict XIII* 24 is to be identified with an *ἀραβάρχης* attested in a document of 534; see R. Delmaire, *CRIPEL* 10 (1987) 133. The *dux* of the 560s probably held the office of *ἀραβάρχης* too; see Fournet, *op. cit.* 333.)

A further but tenuous indication that the father of Christodote and Cometes was different from the *dux* Ioannes son of Sarapammon may be furnished by PSI I 76.7–8, where Christodote describes her estate as ἡ ὑπολειφθεῖσά μοι | ἀκίνητος οὐσία κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκάδων; that she refers to her possessions in the province of Arcadia and nowhere else might imply that she had no appreciable holdings in any other province. This is not what one would expect from a daughter of a native of the Thebaid (see Dioscorus 11.39–40 Fournet), who would have had, and apparently had, substantial landholdings there; cf. P. Ant. II 110.5 (VI) μερ(ίς) τοῦ ὑπερφ(εστάτου) πατρ(ικίου) Ἰωάννου.

There is no need to identify the late *patricius* Ioannes of **4754** and/or PSI 76 with the one described in XVI **1913** 28 (555?) as ἐνδοξ(οστάτου) Ἰλλουστρ(ίου) Ἰωάννου (Ioannes 56, *PLRE* IIIA 663), or the *comes* in XVI **1933** (Ioannes 159, *PLRE* IIIA 690).

The number of *patricii* attested in the papyri is very small. In Middle Egypt, apart from the Ioannes discussed above, only members of the Apion family (Apion I, Strategius II, Apion II, Apion III, and the so-called Strategius Paneuphemos) are known to have held this dignity. In Upper Egypt, besides the *dux* Ioannes, only one other *patricius* is known, viz. Athanasius, himself too a *dux Thebaidis* (see Fournet, op. cit. 330–2); we later find Senuthius, a *dux Thebaidis* immediately after the Islamic conquest (SPP III 271b.2–3, with BL VI 193, and J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 89). (The cases of the general Nicetas in SB I 5122.18 (618), or the Arab πατρίκιος in SB XVI 12585.1, are not comparable.) For lists of *patricii* in the Later Roman Empire see *PLRE* IIIB 1462–6 (AD 395–527), 1466–72 (AD 527–641).

I take the opportunity to note that no *patricii* occur in P. Lond. Copt. I 1075, ed. L. S. B. MacCoull, *OCF* 67/2 (2001) 385–436; in →2.12 and ↓5.16, instead of τοῦ πατρ(ικίου) read ὑ(πέρ) τοῦ πατρ(ός), and similarly πατρ(ός) πρ(ε)βυτέρου should be read in place of πατρ(ικίου) in →3.17; as for →2.21, πατρ(), if correctly read, need not be resolved as πατρ(ικίου).

5–6 γεουχρῦση καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κτλ. In place of ἐν ταύτῃ one would expect ἐνταῦθα; cf. also XVIII **2196** 3 (586). The expression indicates landownership in places other than Oxyrhynchus. If Maria was the daughter of the *dux* Ioannes, she would have had possessions in the Thebaid too; see above, 4–5 n.

6 τῇ νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει. Some time after 9 June 569 (I **134**), Oxyrhynchus assumed the name τῇ νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλις in honour of the emperor Justinus II. The earliest instance comes from SB XII 11079.7 of 17 March 571 (not included in the references collected in LXII **4350** 5 n.), and the latest from VII **1042** 17–18 of 10 October 578. The city returned to its old name under Tiberius II.

6–7 I am not aware of any other text in which a great landowner is addressed through their διοικητής and their ἐπικείμενος. Only the leases VII **1038** (568) and SB VI 9590 (590), respectively addressed to Fl. Euphemia and Fl. Anastasia through their διοικηταί and their ἐνοικιολόγοι, are somewhat comparable; there, the references to ἐνοικιολόγοι may stem from the fact that these functionaries were directly responsible for the leases. One may thus conjecture that what is being agreed upon here falls in the sphere of duties of an ἐπικείμενος.

τοῦ ἐϋ[δο]κιμ(ωτάτου) αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ. On the office of διοικητής see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 80–1, 85–7. On the epithet εὐδοκιμώτατος see LVI **3867** 5 n. Its use for a διοικητής, and especially for someone with the *gentilicium* Flavius, is unusual for a text of this date, though one might adduce P. Ross. Georg III 37.5–6 (545) διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμ(ωτάτου) | Ἀπολλῶτος Διοσκόρου διοικητοῦ.

7 τοῦ θαυμ(ασιωτάτου) αὐτῆς ἐπικειμένου. The duties of an ἐπικείμενος are described in XIX **2239**; he was ‘a general supervisor of various agricultural activities and equipment’ in an estate (LV **3805** 35 n.). Other ἐπικείμενοι styled θαυμασιώτατοι occur in XIX **2238** 4 (551) and SPP XX 209.6–7, 32 (610?).

8–9 Ἰερημίας . . . Φ[οι]βάμμων[ο]ς. Could it be that he is the same as the one described in XIX **2239** 6–7 (598) as Ἰερημίας γέ[ρ]ων ἐπικείμενος τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(όστητος) | υἱὸς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Φοιβάμμων[ο]ς? This ‘old’ Jeremias is in the employ of Fl. Ioannes, son and heir of Fl. Euphemia, while he may earlier have been an employee of Euphemia; see **4755** 5 n. Fl. Ioannes recurs in **4755**, which was apparently found together with **4754** (cf. their inventory numbers). This may be a coincidence, but one may query whether the estates of Maria and Ioannes were related (note that we have no information about the husbands of Euphemia and Maria).

4755. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

I 1B.123/E(b)

10 × 13.8 cm

27 November – 26 December 586

A fragment of a document of common type; for a list see L. E. Tacoma, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 128–9 (the text edited there has been republished as SB XXIV 16312), to which LXVII 4615, LXVIII 4697, and LXIX 4755 are now to be added. It offers the earliest attestation of Fl. Ioannes, *vir gloriosissimus* (Fl. Ioannes 110, *PLRE* IIIA 683), son and heir of Fl. Euphemia, *gloriosissima femina* (Euphemia 3, *PLRE* IIIA 463); he was previously known from XIX 2239 of 598. His mother is somewhat better attested; this text offers a *terminus ante quem* for her death. For a brief comment on Ioannes, a representative of the ‘substantial stratum of medium aristocrats’ of Oxyrhynchus, ‘unfortunately not attested [until now] in any other document from the Oxyrhynchite or elsewhere’, see J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 151–2.

† βασιλείας το[ῦ] θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡ[μῶν] δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου
εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου)

Τιβεριῦ Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγοῦ[στου] Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ε̄,
ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ

εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους δ̄, Χοι[ακ η, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε.

Φλ(αουῖω) Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐνδοξοτ[άτω, τέκνω καὶ κληρονόμω

5 τῆς ἐν ἐνδόξω τῇ μνήμ[η] Εὐφημίας, γεουχοῦντι
κα[ὶ] ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρ[υγχιτῶν] πόλει, διὰ σοῦ
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Βίκτορος [διοικητοῦ αὐτοῦ,
Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολλῶς υἱὸς [- - - μητρὸς - - -

καὶ Βίκτωρ υἱὸς Ἀνδρ[έου] μητρὸς - - -
10 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀσπιδᾶ [τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχιτοῦ
ν[ομοῦ, δι]αφέρ[ο]ντος τῇ ὑ[μῶν] ἐνδοξότητι, ἐναπόγρα-
φοι αὐτῆς γε]ωργοί, χαίρειν. χ[ρ]είας καὶ νῦν γεναμένης
εἰς τὴν ὑπ['] ἐμὲ γεουχικῆ[ν] μηχανὴν καλουμένην

c.9]. ἀντλοῦσαν [εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρόσι-
15 μον γῆν (?) μεγά]λου ἐργάτου ἐν[ὸς ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ
τῆς πόλεως] ἠξιώσαμε[ν] τὴν ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητα

ὥστε κελε[ῖ]ν ἡ[μῖν] τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν ἐρ-
γάτην παρ]αχεθῆ[ναι] c.15

c.13]. [c.18

Back:

20 † χειρογραφ(ία) Ἀπ[ολλῶτος καὶ Βίκτορος
 α [

1, 3 ευεεβ^ς 3 δεεπ^ς 4 Φλ^ς 13 I. ἡμᾶς 20 χειρογραφ^ς

‘In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus (and) Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 4, Choecac *n*, indiction 5.

‘To Flavius Ioannes, *vir gloriosissimus*, child and heir of Euphemia of glorious memory, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, the most splendid Victor, his administrator, Aurelii Apollos son of . . . , mother . . . , and Victor son of Andreas, mother . . . , from the hamlet of Aspidas of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a possession of your glory, registered farmers of yours, greetings. Since now too a need for one large cog-wheel has arisen in the estate irrigator under my (*sic*) charge, called . . . , which irrigates vine-land and arable land (?), we came up to the city and asked your glory to order that the same large cog-wheel be provided to us . . . ’

Back: ‘Chirograph of Apollos and Victor . . . ’

1–3 The full dating clause may be reconstructed on the basis of the reference to Mauricius’ 4th consular year (l. 3), which ran from 586 to 587 (use of postconsular reckoning is not likely: *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν* would be too long for the space in l. 2), and corresponded to his 5th regnal year; in Oxyrhynchus, this year was coterminous with indiction 5. For the regnal and consular years of Mauricius in the papyri, see LVIII **3933–3962** ‘General Introduction’, pp. 52–7, esp. p. 55 (Table III), and now *CSBE*² 51–2, 153–4; for the regnal and consular formulas, see *CSBE*² 260–1.

4 τῷ ἐνδοξοτ[άτῳ τέκνῳ καὶ κληρονόμῳ. There does not seem to be sufficient space in the break to allow restoring *στρατηλάτῃ* before *τέκνῳ*, on the model of XIX **2239** 4. If so, and assuming that we are not dealing with an inadvertent omission, the conferment of the title of *magister militum* upon Ioannes took place after 586.

I wonder whether the collocation *τέκνῳ καὶ κληρονόμῳ* indicates that Ioannes had one or more sisters, and the siblings were collectively designated as *τέκνα καὶ κληρονόμοι*; cf. SB VI 9317.A.11–12, B.24–5 (148), BGU VII 1662.6 (182), IV 1034.11 (iii), P. Mich. XIII 659.60, 283, 292 (vi), P. Münch. I 7.20 (583), SB I 4483.5 (621), etc. Otherwise, I would expect him to be called *υἱῷ καὶ κληρονόμῳ*; cf. M. *Chr.* 230.10 (after 89), III **481** 18 (99), CPR VI 76.18 (ii/iii), IX **1208** 10 (291), P. Cair. Masp. II 67151.98, 138, 229 (545/6?), III 67326.3 (vi), etc. A further implication would be that Euphemia’s estate was not divided after her death, but was jointly administered by her heirs, as was common in this period.

5 *Εὐφημία*. *Εὐφημία ἐνδοξοτάτη* is first attested in 548 (P. Mich. XV 733), and is last heard of as alive in 568 (VII **1038**); we now learn that she was dead by 586. It is unclear whether she is the same as the *μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη Εὐφημία* in XVI **2040** 16 (Euphemia 4, *PLRE* IIIA 463–4), a document assigned to the 560s. She was the daughter of Musaeus, who had the same rank as his daughter (*ἐνδοξότατος*); see **1038** 7–9. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 41 n. 4, followed by R. Rémondon (see D. Bonneau, *Pap. Congr. XII* (1970) 56 n. 96), took this Musaeus to be the founder of the *οἶκος* mentioned in XVI **2039** 19, *οἶκ(ου) Μ[ο]υσαίου υἱοῦ Στρα[]*; but this cannot be proven.

Ioannes may have taken over one of his mother’s employees: Euphemia’s *ἐνοικιολόγος* in **1038** is called *Ἰερημίας*, while *Ἰερημίας γέ[ρ]ων* is Ioannes’ *ἐπικείμενος* in **2239** (cf. **4754** 8–9 n.); cf. R. Mazza, *L’archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 144 n. 78.

5–6 *γεουχοῦντι κα[ὶ] ἐνταῦθα*. The addition of *καί* indicates that Ioannes, like his mother (cf. **1038** 9–10), owned land also outside the region of Oxyrhynchus. The extent of his landholdings is unknown, though it may be surmised from **2239** 13–14, *ἐν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ κτήματι [τῆ]ς αὐτῆς οὐσίας*, that there were a plurality of rural settlements in his estate. But apparently he employed only one *ἐπικείμενος*, since the latter undertakes to fulfil his duties *ἐν πάσῃ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος)* (11), which suggests that the territory under Ioannes’

control cannot have been very large. (On the face of it, Ioannes' estate was organised into a single *προστασία*, which is also relevant.)

7 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Βίκτορος [διοικητοῦ αὐτοῦ. On the clarissimate in this period, see R. Guiland, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin* (1976) 34, with the qualifications of J. Gasco, *Un Codex fiscal hermopolite* = P. Sorb. II (ASP 32: 1994) 62.

Another λαμπρότατος διοικητής occurs in XLIV **3204** 6 (588); cf. also LVIII **3954** 8 (611), and XVI **2033** ii 17 (VII) (the appellation τὰ πάντα λαμπροτάτω, applied to the διοικητής Georgius in XVI **1844** 6, **1846** 5, **1847** 6, and other letters of the 'Victor-George correspondence', may be a mere *Höflichkeitsformel*; note that in XVI **1860** 16 Georgius is addressed as τὰ πάντα περιβλέπτω—but this could also denote a promotion). Several other διοικηταί of Oxyrhynchite magnates at that time were *spectabiles comites*; see below, **4756** 7 n. (Naturally, one cannot rule out the possibility that Victor was not a διοικητής.)

10 ἐποικίου Ἀσιδᾶ. This settlement appears as part of the Apion estate in XVIII **2204** 5 of c.566; cf. also XVI **2029** 2, XVIII **2207** 12, XIX **2244** 15, and P. Iand. III 51.4, with Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* 180. It may well have passed to the control of Fl. Ioannes at this time; for comparable cases, see LXVII **4615** 7 n.

The line as restored seems short, even if we take into account that letter size is variable. In theory, there could have been an adjective after Ἀσιδᾶ and before τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου.

11–12 ἐναπόγραφοι αὐτῆς γε]ωργοί. The other document concerning Fl. Ioannes mentions τοὺς πάντας γεωργοὺς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξ(όστητος) (**2239** 13). There is no need to assume that these γεωργοί were not ἐναπόγραφοι; the term ἐναπόγραφος occurs in very specific contexts (see I. F. Fikman, 'Esclaves et colons en Égypte byzantine', *AnPap* 3 (1991) 10; also A. Jördens, 'Die Agrarverhältnisse im spätantiken Ägypten', *Laverna* 10 (1999) 140–1, with references), and this is not one of them.

13 γεουχική[ν μηχανήν. There were several μηχαναί in Ioannes' estate; cf. **2239** 14.

14–15 εἰς ἄμπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρόσιμον γῆν. The restored sequence suits the space very well.

15 μεγά]λου ἐργάτου. On the term, see LXVIII **4697** 11 n.

18 After παρ]αρχεθῆ[ναι, the text may have continued καὶ εἰθέως ἡ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξόστης πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς κυστάσεως τῶν ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων τοῦτον παρέσχετο ἡμῖν; cf. e.g. P. Select. 20.11 ff.

N. GONIS

4756–4758. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF FLAVIA ANASTASIA

Flavia Anastasia was a middle-ranking aristocratic landowner who flourished at Oxyrhynchus in the later sixth century. Several papyri relating to her estate have come down to us. The bulk of what may be called the archive of Anastasia was acquired on the antiquities market by the *Papyruskartell*, and reached the Giessen University Library in 1910 (two papyri ended up at Erlangen and another at Louvain at a later time); see A. Martin, 'Les Papyrus d'Oxyrhynchus et le marché des antiquités (à la lumière des papiers du 'Deutsches Papyruskartell')', in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (forthcoming 2005), and T. M. Hickey, 'Reuniting Anastasia: P. Bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 56 + P. Erl. 87', *APF* 49/2 (2003) 199–201. The archive has remained largely unpublished (but is being prepared for publication by Hickey). For a brief description of some of its contents see J. van Haelst, 'Des nouvelles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus', *Pap. Congr. XI* (1966) 586–90; a recent addition to Anastasia's 'dossier' (not 'archive') is SB XXII 15723. On Anastasia, see further J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle)* ii (1992) 11, 13, 404–6, and J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (2001) 150–1.

Three new items are published below. Only one other papyrus in the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society is known to be part of the archive, viz. XLIV 3204, a deed of surety dated to 588 (see BL VIII 267). The inventory numbers of these four papyri suggest that they lay close to each other in the same rubbish heap until they were unearthed in Grenfell and Hunt's first excavation season at al-Bahnasa, in 1896/7. None of these pieces appears to be part of a papyrus acquired through the *Papyruskartell* (information kindly supplied by T. M. Hickey). This latter lot probably came to light after the end of the British excavation activity at al-Bahnasa. The nature of the documents of the archive suggests that they originate from the headquarters of Anastasia's estate in the city of Oxyrhynchus. Thus the papyri acquired on the antiquities market conceivably stem from the same mound as the Anastasia papyri in the collection of the EES, a mound not thoroughly dug by Grenfell and Hunt. But this is not necessary; the bulk of the Apion papers were found together, but a large number come from pockets that yielded very miscellaneous material. (This dispersion may in part have been due to the wind.)

4756. DEED OF SURETY

2 1B.95/C(b)+H(b)

fr. 1 14.5 × 18 cm

10 March 590

The upper right part of a deed of surety, a type of document well represented among Anastasia's papers; cf. also 4757–8. Many of the details are lost, but enough survives to tell us that the person under surety was apparently not an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* (cf. XLIV 3204), was released from the public prison of Oxyrhynchus, and his obligation was to remain in his village. Anastasia's *διοικητής*, Flavius Victor, a *comes* of the rank of *vir spectabilis*, has apparently not been recorded previously. Another *διοικητής* of Anastasia, Fl. Phoebammon, is attested in texts dating from before and after the date of 4756. It would thus seem that Anastasia employed two (or more) *διοικηταί* at a time, which suggests that her estate was of some size; see further 7–8 n.

For the latest update on this type of document, see B. Palme, *Symposion 1999* (2003) 531 n. 1; add now LXVIII 4688, 4703, and LXIX 4756–7.

The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου]ν καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου
εὐεργέτου Φλαουῖου Μ]αυρικίου νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους η], ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης
ἔτους ζ,] Φαμενώθ ἰδ̄, ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) ὀγδόης.

- 5 Φλ(αουῖα) Ἀναστασία τῇ ἐν]δοξοτάτῃ ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς
ἐνδόξου μνήμης Μην]ᾶ Εὐδαίμονος, γεουχούρη ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾶ)
᾽Οξυρυγχι(ιτῶν) πόλει, διὰ σοῦ] Φλαουῖου Βίκτορος το[ῦ] περιβλέπτου κόμετος
καὶ διοικητοῦ αὐτῆς, Α]ῦρήλιος Ἀβ[ρ]ᾶμ υἱὸς Παύλου μητρὸς Θέκλας,

ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ κώμης *c.*4] . τοῦ Ὁξυρρυγχ(ίτου) νομοῦ. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσεία
 10 γνώμη καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προ]αιρέσει ἐπωμνύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ
 σεβάσμιον ὄρκον ἐγ]γνᾶσθαι κα[ί] ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα
 ἐνδοξότητι διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προ]ρηκότων Αὐρήλιον Ἡλίαν υἱὸν Φιβμητ[ρ]ὸς
*c.*5 , ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ]τῆς κώμης[ς], ἐφ' ᾧτε αὐτὸν ἀδ[ι]αλείπτως
 παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγ]ειν ἐν τῇ [αὐ]τῇ κώμῃ καὶ μηδαμ[ῶς] αὐτὸν
 15 ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι μήτ]ε μὴν μεθ[ίστασθαι εἰς ἕτερον τόπον
] . [

three lines lost

20 ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρεί]ληφα, ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ταύτης τ[ῆς πό]λ[εως].
 ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω] ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσιν
 τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπι]ζητουμένοις ἀποκρίνασθαι. κυρία
 ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα)] καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) † Αὐρ[(ήλιος)
 Ἀβρα]ὰμ υἱὸς Παύλου
*c.*15] . [*c.*7]ου[1-2]γε. [*c.*3]α. [*c.*3]μ[.]ν

1, 3 ευσεβῆ 3 l. ὑπατείας 4 ἠδ' / 6 λαμπρ 7 φλαουίου 9 οξυρρυγχῆ 1. ἐκουσία
 10 l. ἐπομνύμενος 12 υἱόν 23 επερωμολ'

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius new Tiberius, the eternal Augustus, year 8, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 7, Phamenoth 14, indiction eighth.

'To Flavia Anastasia, *gloriosissima illustria*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaemon, of glorious memory, landowner here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Victor, *spectabilis comes* and administrator of hers, Aurelius Abraam, son of Paulus, mother Thecla, originating from the village . . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I guarantee and receive from your glory through your dependants Aurelius Elias son of Phib, mother . . . , from the same village, on condition that he shall remain continuously and abide in the same village, and he shall on no account abandon it nor transfer to a another place . . . in the place where I have also received him, in the prison of this city. Or if I fail to do this, I acknowledge myself accountable to answer for all that is required of him. This deed of surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Abraam, son of Paulus, . . .'

1-4 Under Mauricius, a date to Phamenoth 14, indiction 8, falls in his regnal year 8 = consular year 7, and corresponds to 10 March 590; see *CSBE*² 153, 162.

2 Φλαουίου Μ]αυρικίου νέου Τιβερίου. This is the form of the emperor's name that was most popular with Oxyrhynchite scribes from 590 until the end of his reign; see *CSBE*² 261, 265 (but there correct '600' to '601').

5-6 The restorations are after SB VIII 9561.7-8; cf. also XLIV 3204 4-5 (with BL VIII 267), and P. Erl. 87.7-8 (with BL X 67 — the correction should be credited to Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance* ii 379; on this text see now T. M. Hickey, *APF* 49/2 (2003) 199-203).

5 ἰλλουστρία. The only other ἰλλουστρία attested in the papyri is Flavia Christodote; see PSI I 76.2 (572/3).

The title ἰλλούστριος first occurs in PSI IV 283.5 of 550, and continued to be in use well into the Arab period. Its exact purport is unclear; see Beaucamp, op. cit. 12 n. 46. Though apparently not equivalent to *vir/femina illustris*, it is always found with persons of this particular senatorial rank (ἐνδοξότατοι). As J. Gascou, P. Sorb. II p. 62, put it, 'Ἰλλούστριος, comme λαμπρότατος, n'est pas associé chez [P. Sorb. II 69] à une fonction et marque donc le statut social'; cf. already O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (1930) 11, 17 ('die Bezeichnung einer Würde wie etwa auch *patricius* und *comes*'). Hornickel, op. cit. 17, further suggested that ἰλλούστριος describes 'die *illustres honorarii*, die letzte Gruppe der Illustres', an attractive hypothesis but not easy to prove. The title is often associated with pagarchs, and it has been thought that the term denotes the function of the pagarch (thus J. Gascou, 'La Détention collégiale de l'autorité pagarchique dans l'Égypte byzantine', *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 69 n. 2: 'le mot ἰλλούστριος nous apparaît clairement comme synonyme de pagarque'; but the statement, 'Peut-être était-ce même le nom officiel de la "fonction" pagarchique après les réformes justiniennes', probably goes too far). (I am grateful to B. Palme for his reaction to some earlier thoughts of mine on this issue.)

6 Μηνηῦ Εὐδαίμονος. On this person see my speculative remarks in 'Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus', *Tyche* 17 (2002) 96–7 with nn. 23–4.

7 Φλαουίου Βίκτορος. This person is apparently not known from elsewhere. (There is no reason to identify him with the διοικητής of Fl. Ioannes in 4755 7 of 586.) The other known διοικηταί of Anastasia are Fl. Phoebammon, attested in SB VIII 9561.11 (2.i.590), SB VI 9368.1 (592/3 or, less likely, 577/8), and some Giessen inedita, and Fl. Ioannes (name restored by T. M. Hickey), recorded in the undated P. Erl. 37.4–5. Another διοικητής may occur in XLIV 3204 6 (2.i.588)] . ος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ. J. Gascou, 'Les Grands Domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine', *T&MBz* 9 (1985) 78 (= BL VIII 267), suggested reading [Φοιβάμμω]ρος, but noted that the use of the epithet λαμπρότατος casts some doubt on the restoration: SB VIII 9561.11 calls Phoebammon τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμετος καὶ διοικητ[οῦ]. SB 9561 dates from two years later than 3204, and one could think that Phoebammon was promoted from *vir clarissimus* to *vir spectabilis* between 588 and 590. But T. M. Hickey has kindly informed me that Phoebammon recurs in P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 44, which predates 3204, and in that text he is already a *vir spectabilis*.

Assuming that the restored διοικητοῦ in 8 is correct, it appears that Anastasia employed at least two διοικηταί at the same time. There were several διοικηταί in the service of the Apions (see R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 137–8), and this was the case with the Arsinoite estate of the so-called Strategius Paneuphemos too; see B. Palme, 'Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos', *Chiron* 27 (1997) 109–17.

Another person who acts as Anastasia's representative occurs in P. Erl. 87.11–12 διὰ τοῦ Φλα[ουίου] τοῦ ἐν]δοξοτάτου ἐλ- (apparently ἐλ[λουστρίου, l. ἰλ-). Hickey, *APF* 49/2 (2003) 203, notes that this was a person of the same status as Anastasia, and thus probably not an employee of hers.

7–8 περιβλέπτου κόμετος [καὶ διοικητοῦ. Several of the διοικηταί employed by great landowners in this period have the same title; besides the διοικηταί of Anastasia in SB VI 9561.12 (590) and P. Erl. 37.5–6 (s.d.), cf. VII 1038 11 (568), LVIII 3936 10–11 (598), XVI 1991 11 (601), and especially I 138 23 (610/1) τοῖς περιβλέπτοις διοικηταῖς καὶ λαμπροτάτοις χαρτουλαρίοις (sim. 31–2), which shows that the terms *περιβλεπτος* (*vir spectabilis*) and *λαμπρότατος* (*vir clarissimus*) reflected a given hierarchy. Such *comites* were *comites sacri consistorii*; cf. LXVI 4535 10–12 (600), where Fl. Apollos, a διοικητής in the estate of Strategius 'Paneuphemos', is addressed as τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι τοῦ θεοῦ κονκιστωρίου καὶ διοικητῆ, whereas elsewhere he is called a *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* or *περιβλεπτος κόμες* (see 4535 10 n.).

The *comitiva sacri consistorii* was an honorary title that conferred on the holder the rank of *vir spectabilis*. Writing on the *comitiva* of Egyptian διοικηταί, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 790, asserted: 'This in sixth-century Egypt does not mean very much, for such titles seem to have been given by courtesy to any person of standing, but indicates that they were gentlemen of some substance.' But even if the title and rank were much debased at that time, it is doubtful that they were mere formalities; cf. I 138, cited above.

9 ἀπὸ κώμης c.4] . . ἀπὸ κώμης Εὐεμ]η (cf. 4757 14) would have the right length. κώμης is restored from 13 αὐ]τῆς κώμη[c], and 14 ἐν τῇ [αὐ]τῆ κώμη. It is interesting that the village from which the person under surety originates is neither a κώμη παγαρχουμένη by Anastasia (cf. 3204 12) nor an ἐποίκιον said to be her 'possession'.

This might account for the fact that we apparently do not have an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός* here. In **3204** the person under surety is not explicitly called an *ἐναπόγραφος*, but when his duties and rights are enumerated mention is made of the *τύχη* of the *ἐναπόγραφος*; this may be the case with **4757** too, which has lost its upper part.

12 The line as restored seems rather long; perhaps *ἐνδοξότητι* was abbreviated.

15 There is not enough space to restore *καταλείψαι τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην*, with **3204** 16–17 and **4757** 1. For the use of *ἀπολ(ε)μπάνεσθαι* in similar documents, cf. P. Wash. Univ. I 25.14 (530), VI **996** = SB XVI 12484.14 (584), PSI I 61.24 (609), XXIV **2420** 14 (614; see BL X 148), etc.

16–19 For the text missing between the two fragments, cf. **4757** 2–6.

20 *ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ταύτης τῆς πόλ[εως]*. The same collocation in XLIV **3204** 22 and (restored) in **4758** 7. **4757** 6–7 has *ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς | Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως*. (The statement of van Haelst, *Pap. Congr. XI* (1966) 589, that Anastasia ‘possède sa prison privée (φυλακή, P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. inv. 45, ligne 4)’, appears not to be correct.) On the prisons mentioned in such documents see I. F. Fikhman, ‘Une Caution byzantine pour des *coloni adscripticii*’, P. Oxy. VI 996, in: R. Pintaudi (ed.) *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII: 1980) 76; J. Gascou, *T&MB* 9 (1985) 24–6; F. Morelli, CPR XXII 4.17–18 n.

21–2 See **4757** 7–8 n.

24 I have not been able to find a known formula in the traces. (*[ου[1–2]γε. [might conceal τὴν παρ]οῦ[κα]ν ἐγγύην*, but the collocation has not occurred in Oxyrhynchite documents.) At the start of the line, perhaps *ὁ προγεγραμμένος* (abbreviated).

N. GONIS

4757. DEED OF SURETY

2 1B.95/C(c)

24.6 × 13.9 cm

Late sixth century

The lower part of a deed of surety for an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*, who was obliged to remain in his village. The guarantor, a comarch, undertook to return the *γεωργός* to the public prison of Oxyrhynchus whenever this was required of him; if that failed, he would have to forfeit the sum of twelve solidi.

The ascription of the text to the archive of Fl. Anastasia relies on its inventory number and the close verbal affinities with XLIV **3204**. In fact, **4757** is the work of the same scribe as **3204**, who also penned P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 45, another deed of surety (information supplied by T. M. Hickey).

.
 ἐναπο[γρά]φου τύχη[ν καὶ μηδα]μῶς αὐτ[ὸ]ν καταλείψαι τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην
 μήτε μὴν μεθί[στασθαι εἰς] ἕτερον τ[ὸ]πον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν
 πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ [τῆς ὑμετ]έρας ἐνδ[ο]ξότητος διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων
 ἐν οἰαδῆποτε [ἡμέρα, οἰ]αδηποτοῦν ἕνεκεν προφάσεως, τοῦτον
 5 παροίω καὶ πα[ραδώσω ἐ]ν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ, ἐκτὸς παντὸς τό[π]ου προσφυγῆς
 καὶ λόγου, ἔνθα αὐτ[ὸν κα]ὶ [παρ]εἶληφα, ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς
 Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως. ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω ὁμολογῶ καταβαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 αὐτοῦ ἀπολείψεως χρυσοῦ νομίσμ[α]τα δώδεκα ἔργῳ καὶ δυνάμει
 ἀπαιτούμεν[α].

κυρία ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφε[ίς]α καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. (m. 2) † Αὐρήλιος
 10 Φοιβάμμων κωμ[ά]ρχης υἱὸς Πιηοῦτος ὁ προγεγραμμ(ένος) πεποίημαι ταύτην
 τὴν ἐγγύην κ[α]ι̅ ἀναδέχομ(αι) τὸν εἰρημ(ένον) Μακάριον κινδύνῳ ἐμῶ ὡς
 πρόκ(εῖται).
 Ἀναστάσιος συμβολ(αιογράφος) ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου)
 ὄντος.†

✱ *di emu Anastasiu eteleiothē†*

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† ἐγγύη Φοιβάμμωνος] υἱοῦ Πιηοῦτος ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Εἰεμη
 15 ἀναδεχομ(ένου) Μακάριον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης)

10 προγεγραμμῶ 11 ἐγγύη ἀναδεχομῶ εἰρημῶ προκ 12 συμβολ' ἀγραμμῶ 14,
 15 κωμῶ

‘... the condition of the *adscripticius*. And he shall on no account leave the same village nor transfer to another place, but if he is required of me by your glory through your subordinates on any day, for any reason whatsoever, I shall bring him forward and deliver him up in a public place without recourse to any place of refuge or letter of safe-conduct, in the place where I have also received him, in the public prison of the same city of the Oxyrhynchites. Or if I fail to do this, I acknowledge that I shall pay for his non-appearance twelve solidi of gold, actual payment of which is to be enforced. This deed of surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Phoebammon, comarch, son of Pious, the aforewritten, have made this surety and undertake responsibility for the same Macarius at my risk, as aforesaid. I, Anastasius, contract writer, wrote on his behalf, as requested, because he is illiterate.’

‘Through me, Anastasius, the completion was made.’

Back: ‘Surety of Phoebammon, son of Pious, from the village of (E)ieme, undertaking responsibility for Macarius from the same village.’

1 ἐναπο[γρά]φου τύχη[ν]. On the meaning of the clause, see I. F. Fikhman, ‘Les Cautionnements pour les *coloni adscripticii*’, *Pap. Congr. XVI* (1981) 474.

καταλείψαι τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην. The implication is that this ἐναπόγραφος had his legal domicile in a village (cf. the docket). Other ἐναπόγραφοι stated to originate from κώμαι occur in **3204** and P. Mert. II 98 (VII), but the great majority of ἐναπόγραφοι are associated with ἐποίκια. Yet the presence of ἐναπόγραφοι in κώμαι need not cause surprise, if we bear in mind the fiscal character of the *adscriptio*, and that these κώμαι were in the administrative or fiscal control (παγαρχοῦμεναι) of those great landlords who also controlled ἐποίκια. On an empirical level, one may cite I. F. Fikhman, ‘De nouveau sur le colonat du Bas Empire’, in *Miscellanea Papyrologica . . . Borgiana* (Pap. Flor. XIX: 1990) 168 n. 49: ‘tenant compte de l’interchangeabilité des désignations *epoikion, kitema, kōmē* le nombre des *enapographoi* dans les *kōmai* serait plus grand que l’attestent les sources’.

3 τῆς ὑμετ[έ]ρας ἐνδ[ο]ξότητος. This appellation is common with other ‘medium aristocrats’ of Oxyrhynchus at that time, including Anastasia. However, **3204** 18 refers to τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας, a term normally applied to persons of higher standing than Anastasia (*consulares* or *patricii*); it would seem that the scribe was used to writing such documents for the Apions (but contrast 10 and 12, where reference is made to Anastasia’s ἐνδοξότης).

5 παροίω. παραφέρω is much more common in this context; παροίω has occurred only here, in XLVI **3204** 20 (588), also signed by Papnuthius, and in XXVII **2478** 23 (595). On the use of this verb in this context, typical of Oxyrhynchus, see CPR XXII 4.14–16 n. (Contrary to what was previously thought, παραφέρειν does not occur

- ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρα, οἰαδηποτοῦν] ἔνεκεν προφάσεως,
 5 τοῦτον παροίω καὶ παραδώσω] ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπ[ω, εἰ]κτὸς
 παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγ]ου, ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρείληφα,
 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.] ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω ὁμολογῶ
 ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτ]ὸν ἐπιζητουμένοις ἀποκρίνας[θα]ι
 c.25] κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα) κ[α]ὶ
 ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 10 ὡμολ(όγησα). (name)] στοιχεῖ μοι αὕτη ἢ ἐγγύη [ὡς π]ρόκ(ειται).
 ✱ *dī emu Anastasiu e[tele]iothē†*

9 κυρ γραφ επερ 10 προκ

‘. . . transfer to another place, but if he is required of me by your glory through your representatives on any day, for any reason whatsoever, I shall bring him forward and deliver him up in a public place without recourse to any place of refuge or letter of safe-conduct, in the place where I have also received him, in the public prison of the same city. Or if I fail to do this, I acknowledge myself accountable to answer for all that is required of him. . . . This deed of surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. (2nd hand) I, . . . —this surety satisfies me as aforesaid. . . .’

‘Through me, Anastasius, the completion was made.’

1] . . . ν. [] . . . Presumably κ[ώμην] μ[ήτε μήν], but I cannot confirm any text at the end of the line.

2–7 Cf. XLIV **3204** 17–22, LXIX **4756** 15–22, **4757** 2–7.

7 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς (or ταύτης τῆς) πόλεως]. There is not enough space to restore ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου, a recurrent phrase in Apion documents.

9 I do not see how to restore the lost part of the line convincingly. In all other deeds of surety, the ὑπεύθυνος-clause is followed immediately by the κυρία-clause. A reference to the κίνδυνος of the guarantor would not have been out of place (cf. XIX **2238** 26–7 (551), XXIV **2420** 19 (614; see BL X 148), and XXVII **2478** 27–8 (595)), but these texts offer no clue to the wording of the text lost here. κινδύνω τῶν ἐμοὶ ὑπαρχόντων has the right length, but has not occurred in any other document of this kind. Cf. also **4757** 11 n.

11 For the notary Anastasius, see **4757** 12–13 n.

N. GONIS

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or its *Revised Supplement*. The article has been indexed only for **4708**; *καί* has not been indexed in the documentary section.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

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 τόκος **4712**² 19
 τύπειν **4714**¹ 3?
 ὕβρις **4714**⁹ 2
- υἱός [4714⁶ 2]
 ὑπ- **4711**¹ ↓ 13
 ὑπέρ **4711**¹ ↓ 10
 ὑπό **4712**¹ 9 **4714**¹ 15, ⁴ 3?
 ὑπν- **4712**² 6?
 ὕπνος **4712**² 12
- φαέθων **4712**¹⁴ 3
 φάναι **4712**¹ 6
 (-)φέρειν **4711**¹ → 15
 Φερσεφόνη [4711¹ ↓ 4]
 φεύγειν [4711¹ ↓ 9] **4712**² 8
 φιλομειδής **4711**¹ ↓ 1
 φίλος **4711**¹ ↓ 8 **4713** 4
 φιλοφροσύνη **4714**³⁷ 2?
 Φοίβη **4711**¹ ↓ 7
 Φοῖβος **4710** 4? **4711**¹ ↓ 14
 (-)φορητος **4712**¹⁴ 8 (ὑψιφόρητος?)
 φράζεσθαι **4713** 4
 φυτόν [4711¹ ↓ 6]
 φωνή **4709** ii 6
- χάλκεος **4714**⁶ 6
 χάροιψ **4712**²⁶ 4
 χάσκειν **4712**¹⁴ 7
 χειμέριος **4714**¹ 19
 χείρ **4714**¹¹ 6
 χθών **4712**²³ 3?
- ὤμος **4714**¹ 7
 ὠρη **4714**¹ 19?
 ὠς [4712¹ 6] **4714**¹ 16?

II. RULERS

HADRIAN

Ἄδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος **4739** 5 (year 12)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἄδριανὸς Σεβαστός **4739** 29–30 (year 11)

COMMODUS

Μάρκος Ἀνρῆλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος ὁ κύριος **4740** 15–18 (year 23)

PESCENNIUS NIGER

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖς]αρ Γάιος Πεκκ[ένιος **4736** introd.

SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Πέρτιναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς
Μέγιστος καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστοὶ [καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ
Cεβα]στὸς **4745** 48–54 (year 11)

DIOGLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND MAXIMIAN CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς
ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες Σεβαστοὶ **4747** 23–6 (year 13, 12 and 5)

MAXIMIAN AND SEVERUS AUGUSTI, MAXIMINUS AND CONSTANTIUS CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Σεουήρος Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Μαξιμίνος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
Καίσαρες **4748** 18–21 (year 15, 3 and 1) **4750** 20–2 (year 15, 3 and 1)

CONSTANTINE I (DECEASED), CONSTANTIUS II, CONSTANS

(no titulature) **4753** 8 (year 36, 18 and 9)

IUSTINUS II

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαυῶιος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ
Αὐτοκράτωρ **4754** 1–2 (year 7)

MAURICIUS

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαυῶιος Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος ὁ αἰώνιος
Αὔγουστος Αὐτοκράτωρ **4755** 1–2 (year 5)

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαυῶιος Μαυρίκιος νέος Τιβέριος ὁ αἰώνιος
Αὔγουστος Αὐτοκράτωρ **4756** 1–3 (year 8)

III. CONSULS

AD 296 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίου Καίσαρος το β' **4747** 1–2

AD 307 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεουήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος **4748** 1–2
4749 1–2 (omits τοῦ) **4750** 1–2 (omits τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος)

AD 310 ὑπατείας Τατίου Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων **4751** 16–17

AD 311 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμίνου τὸ β' **4752** 19–20

AD 341 ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4753** 1–2

AD 572 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν (Justinus II) γαληνότητος τὸ δεύτερον **4754** 2–3

AD 586 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Mauricius) εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἔτους δ **4755** 2–3

AD 590 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Mauricius) εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἔτους ζ **4756** 3–4

IV. INDICATIONS AND ERAS

(a) INDICATIONS

5th indiction [**4755** 3] (= 586/7)

6th indiction **4754** 3 (= 572/3)

8th indiction **4756** 7 (= 589/90)

(b) ERAS

249/218 **4754** 3 (= 572/3)

V. MONTHS

Φαῶφι **4745** 54 **4747** 27 **4753** 2
 Χοιάκ **4755** 3
 Μεχείρ **4748** 21
 Φαμενώθ **4756** 4
 Παῦνι **4739** 19 **4745** 32 **4747** 16 **4751** 17

Ἐπεῖφ **4753** 25
 Μεσορή **4739** 30 **4740** 19 **4741** 6 **4742** 6 **4743** 6–7
4744 6
 ἐπαγόμεναι **4740** 19
 Ἰούνιος **4751** 17

VI. DATES

15 August 127 **4739** 29–30
 25 August 183 **4740** 19
 31 July 193, 217 or 222 **4741** 6–7 **4742** 6–7
 2 August 193, 217 or 222 **4743** 6–7 **4744** 6–7
 29 September or 17 October 202 **4745** 48–54
 26 October 296 **4747** 1–2
 12 February 307 **4748** 18–21 **4749** 1–2
 307 **4750** 1–2

15 June 310 **4751** 16–17
 4 March 311 **4752** 19–20
 19 October 341 **4753** 1–2
 10 September or 10 October or 9 November 572
4754 2–3
 27 November–26 December 586 **4755** 1–3
 10 March 590 **4756** 1–4

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀβραάμ, Aur., s. of Paulus and Thecla **4756** 8, 23
 Ἀδριανός; see Index II s.v. Hadrian
 Ἀθηνόδωρος, Aur. **4751** 23
 Αἴλιος; see s.v. Ἀμμων
 Ἀλέξανδρος, f. of Diogenes **4739** 22
 Ἀμμων: Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀμμων, *equus imaginifer alae*
Aprianae Philippianorum **4746** 6
 Ἀμμωνίλλα, Aur., d. of Dionysius **4747** 3
 Ἀναστασία, Fl., *gloriosissima illustris*, d. of Menas, s. of
 Eudaemon [**4756** 5]
 Ἀναστάσιος, contract writer **4757** 12, 13 (*Anastasiu*)
4758 11 (*Anastasiu*)
 Ἀνδρέας, f. of Aur. Victor **4755** 9
 Ἀνδρόνικος: Tattius Andronicus, *vir clarissimus*, consul
 310 **4751** 16; see also Index III s.v. 310
 Ἀνουβίων, f. of Aur. Isidorus **4750** 3
 Ἀντωνῖνος; see Index II s.vv. Commodus; Severus,
 Caracalla, and Geta
 Ἀντώνιος; see s.v. Μαρκελλῖνος
 Ἀπολινάρις, s. of Plutogenes **4745** 4, 55
 Ἀπολλῶς, Aur. **4755** 8, 20
 Ἀρποκρατίων, f. of Aur. Theodorus **4748** 5–6 **4749** 5
4752 4
 Ἀἴγουστος; see Index II s.vv. Iustinus II; Mauricius
 Ἀῦρηλία; see s.v. Ἀμμωνίλλα

Ἀῦρηλιος; see s.vv. Ἀβραάμ, Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ἀπολλῶς,
 Βάσκος, Βίκτωρ, Ἡλίας, Ἡρακλάμμων, Ἡρακλῆς,
 Θεόδωρος, Ἰεῖδωρος, Μάρκος, Πάησις, Παπονθεύς,
 Σαραπάμμων, Σεουῆρος, Φοιβάμμων, Φρόντων,
 Ὀρίων, Ὄρος, Ὀφέλιος; see also Index II s.vv.
 Commodus; Severus, Caracalla, and Geta

Βάσκος, Aur. **4751** 1, 18
 Βίκτωρ, superintendent of *patricia* Fl. Maria **4754** 7
 Βίκτωρ, administrator of Fl. Ioannes, *vir*
gloriosissimus **4755** 7
 Βίκτωρ, Aur., s. of Andreas **4755** 9, 20
 Βίκτωρ, Fl., *spectabilis comes*, administrator of Fl.
 Anastasia, d. of Menas **4756** 7

Γάιος, s. of Paesis **4745** 5, 56
 Γάιος; see Ἰούλιος
 Γέτα; see Index II s.v. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta

Διδυμίων, f. of Aur. Heraclammon **4750** 5
 Διογένης, s. of Alexander **4739** 22
 Διοκλητιανός; see Index II s.v. Diocletian and
 Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Maximian
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 Διονύσιος, s. of Dionysius **4739** 2, 31

- Διονύσιος, f. of Dionysius **4739** 2, 31
 Διονύσιος, s. of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch, former councillor of Oxyrhynchus **4747** 3
 Διονύσιος, f. of Dionysius **4747** 3-4
- Εὐδαίμων, s. of Eudaemon **4739** 1
 Εὐδαίμων, f. of Eudaemon **4739** 1
 Εὐδαίμων, f. of Menas, f. of Fl. Anastasia **4756** 6
 Εὐρέβιος, Fl., former *curator civitatis*, guardian of C. Iulius Leucadius **4753** 4
 Εὐφημία, m. of Fl. Ioannes, *vir gloriosissimus* [**4755** 5]
- Ἡλίας, Aur., son of Phib **4756** 12
 Ἡρακλάμμων, Aur., s. of Didymion **4750** 5
 Ἡρακλᾶς, f. of Aur. Paesis **4747** 6
 Ἡρακλειανός, f. of C. Iulius Leucadius, **4753** 3
 Ἡρακλῆς, Aur. **4748** 25
- Θάησις, m. of Dionysius **4739** 3
 Θέκλα, m. of Aur. Abraam **4756** 8
 Θεόδωρος, Aur., s. of Harpocraton **4748** 5 **4749** 4 **4752** 4
 Θῶνις **4741** 3 **4742** 2 **4743** 3 **4744** 3
- Ἱερεμίας, Aur., *alias* Pal— **4754** 8, 10 (back)
 Ἰούλιος; *see* Λευκάδιος
 Ἰουετίνος; *see* Index II s.v. Iustinus II
 Ἰούστος, Fl., administrator of Fl. Maria, *patricia* **4754** 6
 Ἰεῖδωρος; *see* Πάησις
 Ἰεῖδωρος, Aur., s. of Anubion and Plusia **4750** 3, [23]
 Ἰεῖδωρος, Aur. **4752** 24
 Ἰωάννης, *patricius*, f. of Fl. Maria, *patricia* **4754** 5
 Ἰωάννης, Fl., *vir gloriosissimus*, s. of Euphemia **4755** 4
- Καῖσαρ; *see* Index II s.vv. Hadrian; Commodus; Severus, Caracalla, and Geta; Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Maximian Caesars; Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantius Caesars; Index III s.vv. 296, 307
 Καππαρᾶς **4745** 39
 Κόμμοδος; *see* Index II s.v. Commodus
 Κωνσταντίνος; *see* Index II s.v. Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantius Caesars
 Κωνσταντίος; *see* Index II s.v. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Maximian Caesars; Index III s.v. 296
- Λευκάδιος: C. Iulius Leucadius, s. of Heraclianus **4753** 3
- Λούκιος; *see* Index II s.v. Severus, Caracalla and Geta
- Μακάριος, *colonus adscripticius* **4757** 11, 15
 Μαξιμιανός; *see* Index II s.vv. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Maximian Caesars; Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantius Caesars Index III s.v. 311
 Μαξιμῖνος; *see* Index II s.v. Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantius Caesars; Index III s.vv. 307, 311
 Μαρία, m. of Aur. Horion **4752** 2
 Μαρία, Fl., *patricia*, d. of *patricius* Ioannes **4754** 4
 Μαρκελλίνος: Antonius Marcellinus, *vir clarissimus*, consul 341 **4753** 1; *see also* Index III s.v. 341
 Μάρκος; *see* Index II s.vv. Commodus; Severus, Caracalla, and Geta
 Μαυρίκιος; *see* Index II s.v. Mauricius
 Μηνᾶς, s. of Eudaemon, f. of Fl. Anastasia, *gloriosissima illustria* **4756** 6
- Οὐαλέριος, f. of Aur. Severus **4749** 3
- Πάησις, f. of Gaius **4745** 5, 56
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 Πάησις, Aur., s. of Heraclas and Taamois **4747** 6, 27
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 Πανεχώτης, f. of Aur. Horus **4753** 5, 28
 Παπονθεύς, Aur., s. of —is **4753** 5-6
 Παποντώς, f. of Sarapas **4740** 4-5
 Πασίων, s. of Paesis *alias* Isidorus **4745** 58
 Παῦλος, f. of Aur. Ophelius **4748** 3
 Παῦλος, f. of Aur. Abraam **4756** 8, 23
 Πέρτιναξ; *see* Index II s.v. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta
 Πετρώνιος; *see* s.v. Προβῖνος
 Πιήρους, f. of comarch Aur. Pheobammon **4757** 10, 14
 Πλουσία, m. of Aur. Isidorus **4750** 3
 Πλουτίων, s. of Plution **4745** 1
 Πλουτίων, f. of Plution **4745** 1-2
 Πλουτογένης, f. of Apolinarius **4745** 4, 55
 Πομπήσιος; *see* s.v. Πρόβος
 Πούβλιος; *see* Index II s.v. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta
 Προβῖνος: Petronius Probinus, *vir clarissimus*, consul 341 **4753** 1-2; *see also* Index III s.v. 341
 Πρόβος: Pompeius Probus, *vir clarissimus*, consul 310 **4751** 16; *see also* Index III s.v. 310
- Σαραπάμμων, Aur. **4747** 29-30

Καραπάς, s. of Papontos **4740** 4
 Σεβαστός; *see* Index II s.vv. Hadrian; Severus,
 Caracalla, and Geta; Diocletian and Maximian
 Augusti, Constantius and Maximian Caesars;
 Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and
 Constantius Caesars; Index III s.vv. 296 307
 Σεουήρος; *see* Index II s.vv. Severus, Caracalla, and
 Geta; Maximian and Severus Augusti, Maximinus
 and Constantius Caesars; Maximian and Severus
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 Index III s.v. 307
 Σεουήρος, Aur., s. of Valerius **4749** 3
 Σεπτίμιος; *see* Index II s.v. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta

 Ταάμοϊς, m. of Aur. Paesis **4747** 6
 Τάτιος; *see* s.v. Ἀνδρόνικος
 Τιβέριος; *see* Index II s.v. Mauricius
 Τίσαϊς, m. of Aur. Ophelius **4748** 3

Τίτος; *see* s.v. Ἀμμων
 Τραϊανός; *see* Index II s.v. Hadrian
 Τύραννος, f. of Aur. Horion **4752** 1

 Φιβ, f. of Aur. Elias **4756** 12
 Φλαουῖα; *see* s.vv. Μαρία, Ἀναστασία
 Φλάουϊος; *see* s.vv. Βίκτωρ, Εὐσέβιος, Ἰουστίνος,
 Ἰούστος, Ἰωάννης, Τιβέριος
 Φοιβάμμων **4754** 9
 Φοιβάμμων, Aur., comarch, s. of Pieus **4757** 9–10,
 [14]
 Φρόντων, Aur. **4753** 31

 Ψορίων, Aur., s. of Tyrannus and Maria **4752** 1, 21
 Ψρος, Aur., s. of Panechotes **4753** 5, 28
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 ... [.]ις, f. of Aur. Papontheus **4753** 6

VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL

Ἀμμωνᾶ (κλήρος) **4745** 9–10
 Ἄνω Κυνοπολίτης **4748** 8 **4750** 4, 9 **4752** 8
 Ἄρκεινότης (νομός) **4740** 7–8
 Ἀσπιδᾶ (ἐποίκιον) **4755** 10

 Διονυσιάς **4740** 2

 Εἰεμη (κώμη) **4757** 14
 Ἐρμοπολίτης (νομός) **4752** 3
 ἢ λαμπροτάτη (?) μεγάλη Ἐρμού πόλις **4749** 4
 Εὐεργέτις (πόλις) **4750** 4

 Ἰσιεῖον Κάτω (κώμη) **4748** 4

 Κερκέθυρις (κώμη) **4747** 6–7
 Κερκέμουρις **4753** 9

 Ληνών **4739** 3, 19

 Νέα Ἰουετίνου πόλις **4754** 6

Ὀξυρυσχίτης (νομός) **4748** 4–5 **4755** 10–11 **4756** 9
 Ὀξυρυσχιδῶν πόλις **4748** 6 [**4749** 4] **4757** 7;
 ἢ λαμπρὰ Ὀξυρυσχιδῶν πόλις **4755** 6 **4756** 6–7;
 ἢ λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ὀξυρυσχιδῶν πόλις
4747 5 **4750** 6–7 **4752** 5–6
 Ὀξυρυσχιδῶν πόλις **4739** 1–2 **4740** 5–6 **4745** 3

 Πάειμις **4739** 6
 Πάνκυλις (ἐποίκιον) **4753** 6–7
 Πέλα **4739** 3, 23
 Πέρσης **4739** 3
 Π. λανδρος (ἐποίκιον) **4752** 2

 Σέρυφις **4745** 9, 33 **4747** 8
 Στρα. . . νος (κλήρος) **4753** 10

 Τέβτυνις **4741** 1–2 **4742** 1 **4743** 1–2 **4744** 1–2

 Φίλωνος (κλήρος) **4753** 10
 Φοινικη[**4751** 2

IX. RELIGION

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θειότατος **4754** 1 **4755** 1 **4756** 1

X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- Ἀπριανός 4746 8
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 γυμνασιαρχεῖν 4747 4
 δεσπότης 4752 19 4754 1 4755 1, 3 4756 1, 3
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 ἐνδοξότατος 4755 4 4756 5
 ἐνδοξότης [4755 11, 16] [4756 12] 4757 3 [4758 3]
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 4753 2; *see also* Index VIII s.vv.
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 ἀρτάβη 4739 10-11 4745 17 4747 11-12, 20 4753 14,
 15-16, 24
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- δραχμή 4740 12 4745 14 (4748 12) 4750 13, (14)
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XV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

- | | |
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| LV 3800 44 | 4753 29–30 n. |
| P. Lond. Copt. I 1075 →2.12, 21, →3.17, ↓5.16 | 4754 4–5 n. (p. 206) |
| P. Mert. I 36.3 | 4753 3 n. |
| P. Mert. II 76.39 | 4739 26–9 n. |
| R. Rain. Cent. 69.8 | 4746 9 n. |
| SB VIII 9833.23–4 | 4747 27–30 n. |
| SB VIII 9919.10 | 4747 19–20 n. |



fr. 1

4711↓



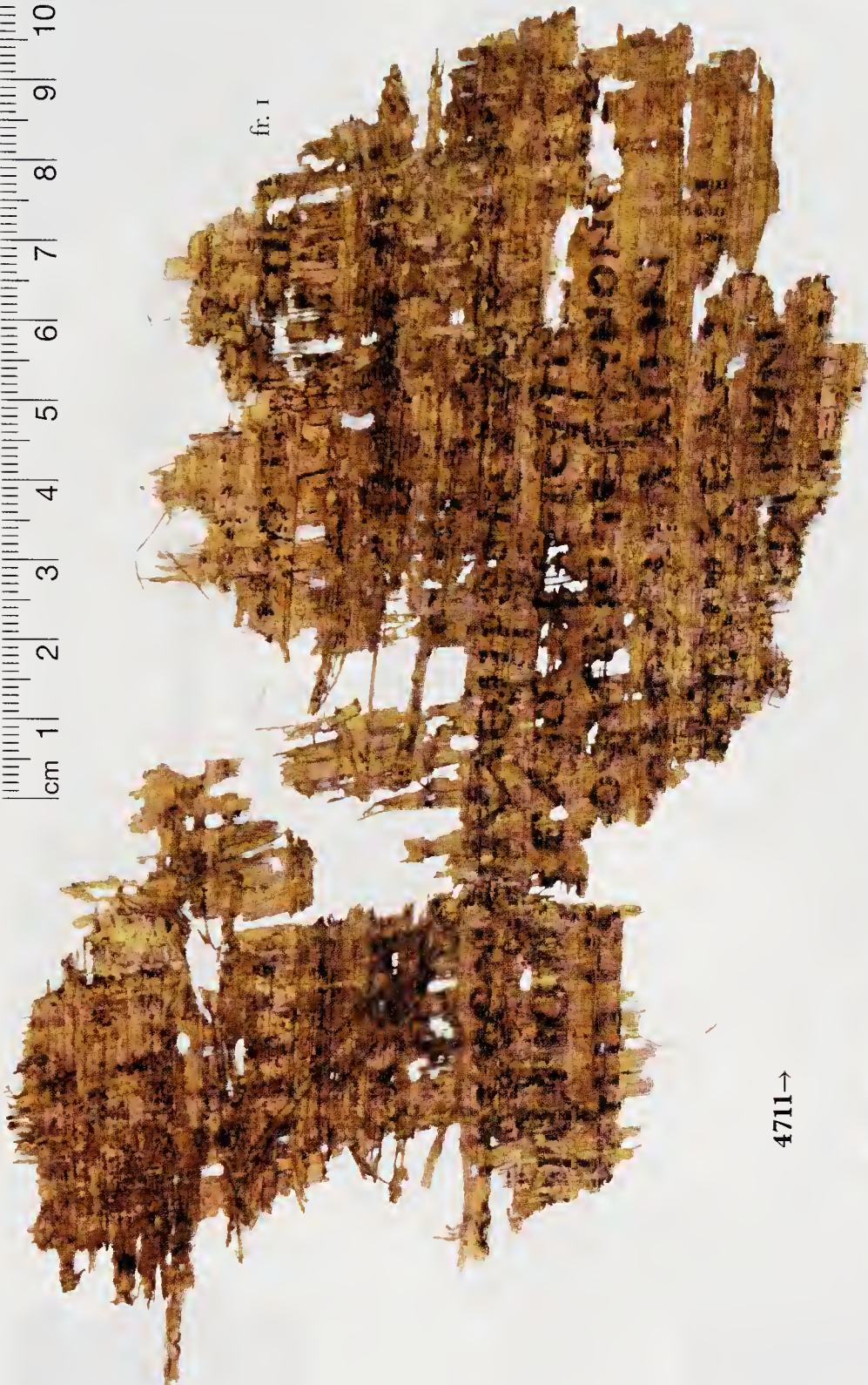
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fr. 3



fr. 2



fr. 1



fr. 2

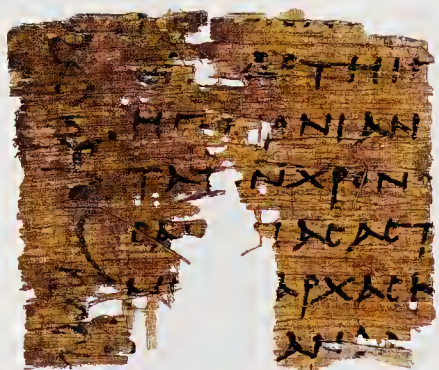


fr. 3

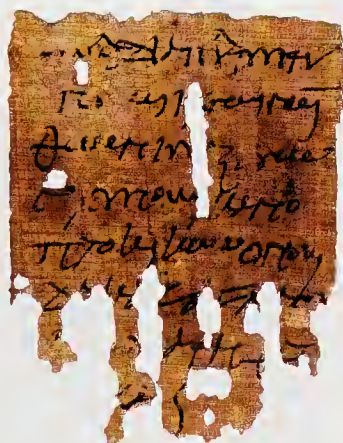


fr. 4

4711 →



4736

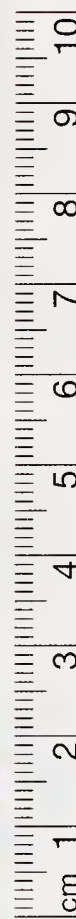
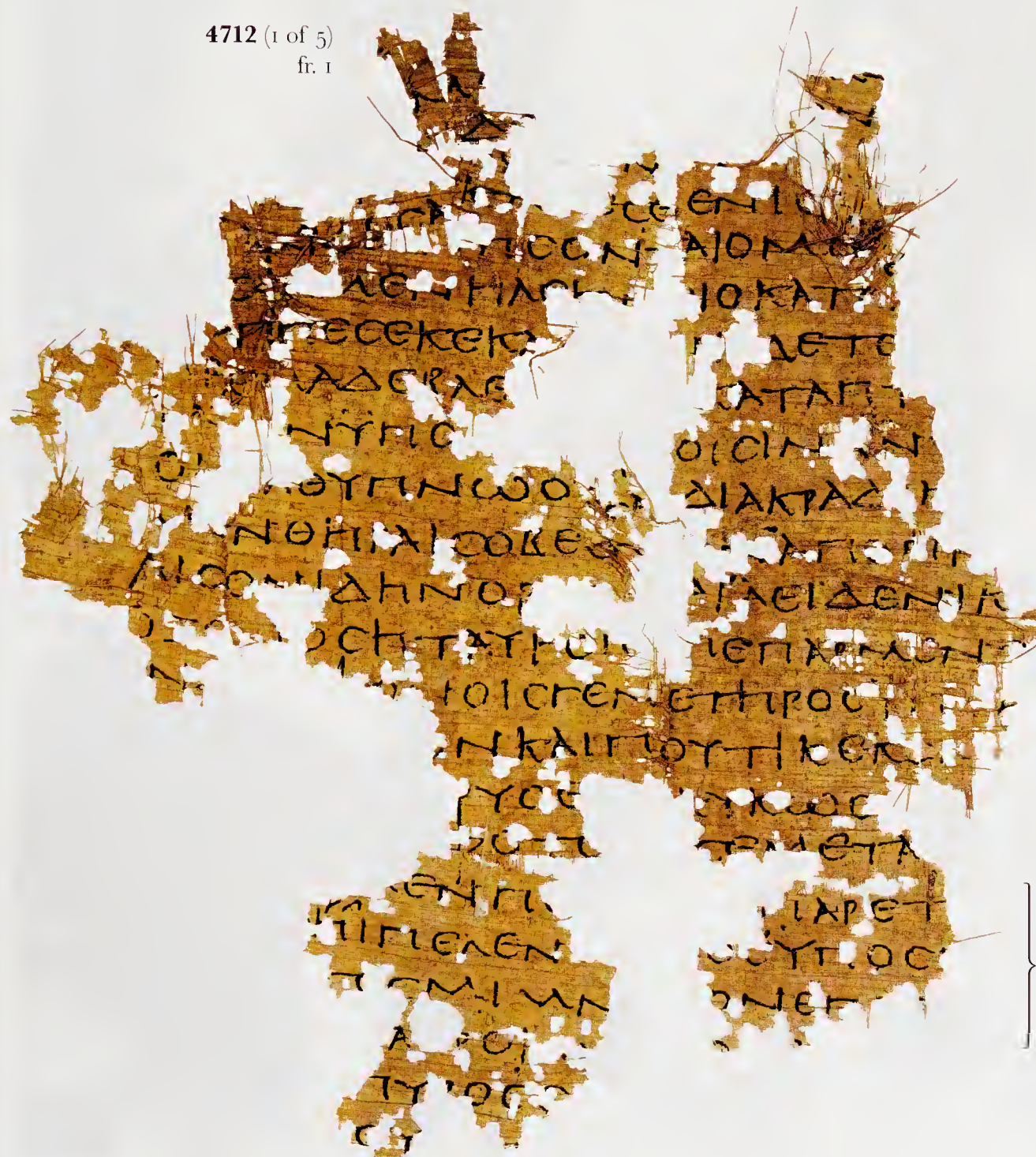


4743



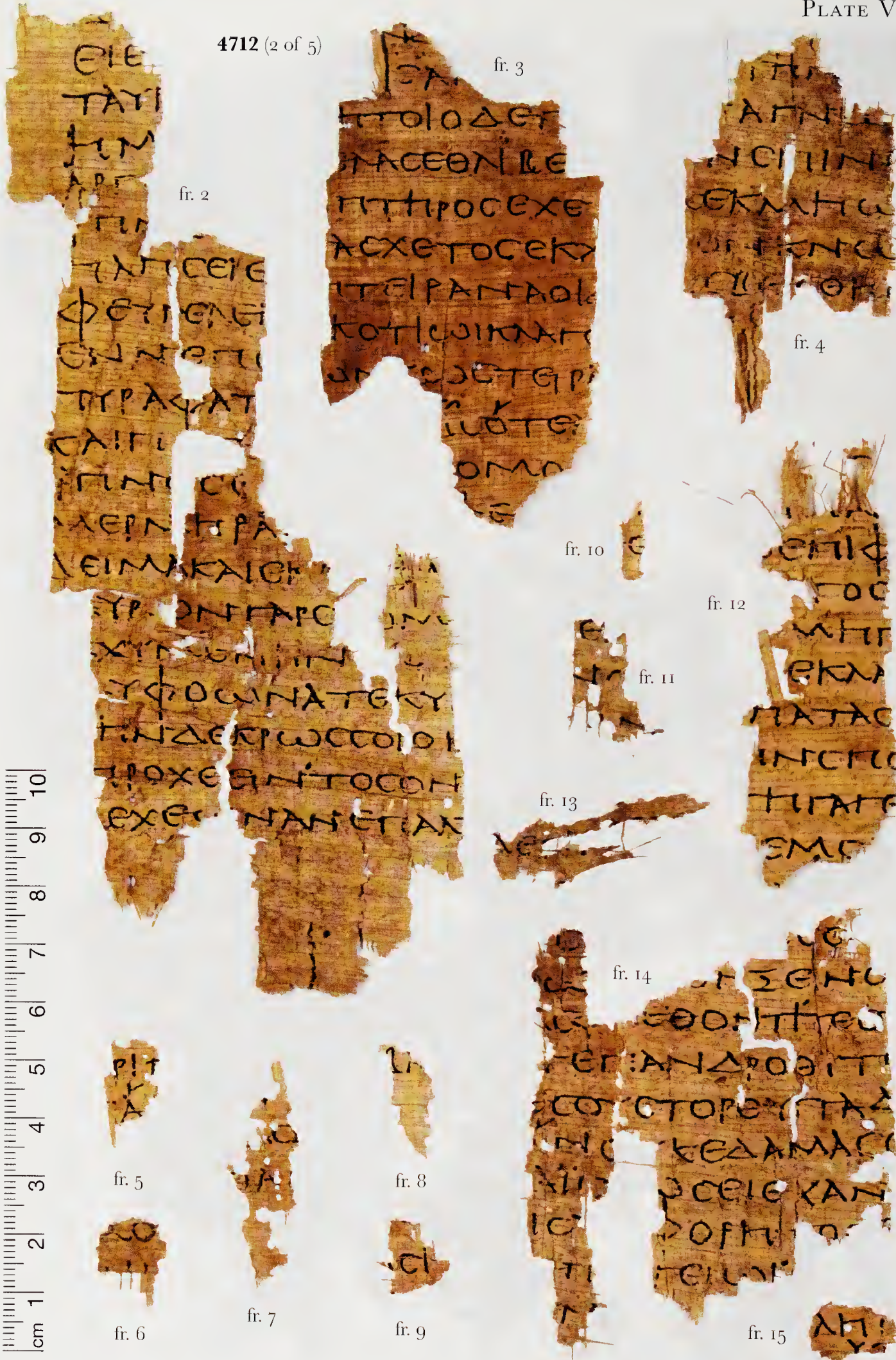
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ΘΙΕ
 ΤΑΥΙ
 ΗΜ
 ΑΡ

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ΠΙ
 ΗΛΙΣΕΙΕ
 ΦΕΤΙΕΝΕ
 ΕΝΝΕΠΙ
 ΠΡΑΦΑΤ
 ΚΑΙΓΙ
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 ΜΕΡΝ ΠΡΑ
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 ΑΧΕΤΟΣΕΚ
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 ΚΟΤΙΩΙΝΑΝ
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 ΟΜΟ

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 ΟΥΟΤΟΡΕΥΤΑ
 ΝΟΚΕΔΑΜΑΟ
 ΧΙΠ
 ΟΣΕΙΕΚΑΝ
 ΟΡΗΥ
 ΤΙ
 Μ



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 Α

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 Π

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PLATE VII



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fr. 40



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fr. 45



fr. 46



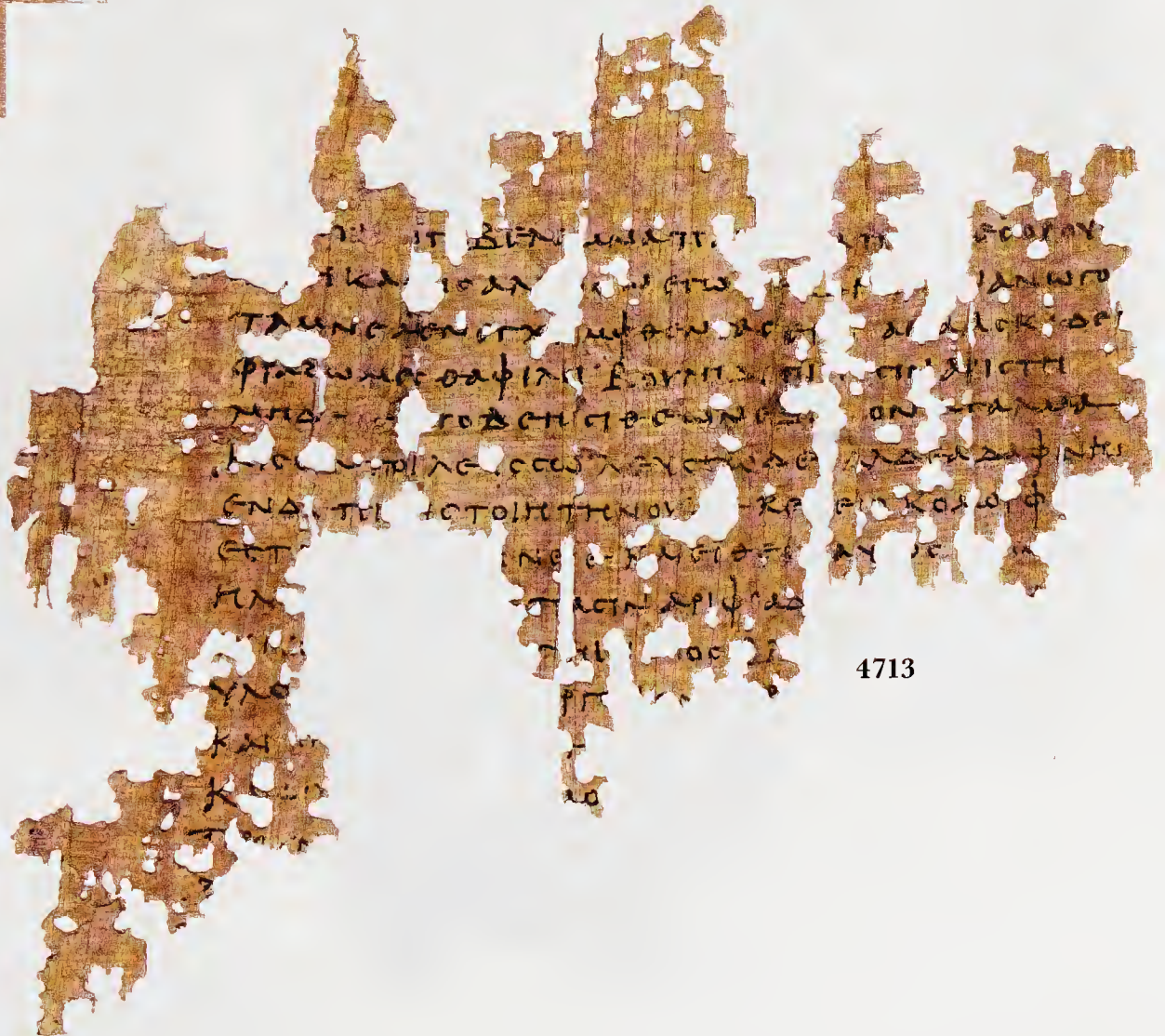
fr. 47



fr. 48



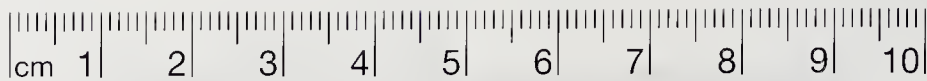
fr. 49



4713



4737 (reduced)



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.
 cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4738
 Fragment of papyrus with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The fragment is irregularly shaped and shows signs of wear and tear.

4740
 Fragment of papyrus with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The fragment is rectangular with irregular edges and shows signs of wear and tear.

4746
 Fragment of papyrus with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The fragment is irregularly shaped and shows signs of wear and tear.

[Faded Greek text on a fragment of papyrus, approximately 15 lines visible. The script is cursive and difficult to decipher due to fading and damage.]



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